THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE YOUNGER CHURCHES

International missionary council. Dept. of social and economic research.

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THE REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH OF THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL TO THE TAMBARAM MEETING—DECEMBER 1938

By

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TO

MY WIFE

WHOSE INSIGHT AND BELIEF IN THE TASK
HAS HELPED ME TO CARRY IT THROUGH

PREFACE

AT the meeting of the International Missionary Council, held in December 1938, at Tambaram, Madras, one of the subjects most earnestly discussed was 'The Economic Basis of the Church.' The importance of the matter is immediately plain. All schools of missionary thinking agree in regarding the growth of a true and living Church as at the very least an essential part of the objective which the missionary movement must set before itself. But the Church is both a divine and a human society, and as a human society the conditions of its health and vigour must be understood if it is to be strong. Again, as a human society, it must be deeply rooted in the common life of every land; its outer self must be such as readily to suggest to every people that here is a home into which they can enter; a part of the universal Christian fellowship, it must yet rely upon the support of those among whom it is set and be thought of by them as their own.

The problems which arise in the course of the study of this question have occupied many people in every part of the world. In part they are cultural or sociological, in part they are economic. The author of this book, Mr J. Merle Davis, made a contribution of the highest value to the Tambaram meeting by carrying out a series of studies of the economic and social environment of the indigenous churches in several Eastern countries. He was able to enlist the aid of many individuals, groups and institutions, notably several of the Christian colleges, but his own personal labours were perhaps the most fruitful of all. This book, together with other material prepared partly or wholly by others, was supplied to all delegates to the Tambaram meeting in advance. It was considered so valuable that the International Missionary Council decided to make it available without delay for general

reading. A few alterations have been made, but the book is substantially that laid before the Tambaram meeting

Mr Merle Davis will edit a larger book on the same subject, which will appear in the series of seven volumes arising out of the Tambaram meeting and to be published in September 1939. In this larger book the whole of the material supplied to the Tambaram meeting by him and his Department will be drawn upon, including some portions of the present volume.

The Department of Social and Economic Research and Counsel, of which Mr Davis is Director, was begun by the International Missionary Council during the years immediately succeeding the Jerusalem Meeting of 1928. It has carried out a comprehensive study of the special problems presented by the Northern Rhodesian copper belt, and also an experiment in the adaptation of the film to the educational needs of the Bantu peoples of Africa. During the two years preceding the Madras meeting the work of the department was concentrated chiefly upon the preparation of this aspect of the main conference theme, and it was therefore possible for discussion to proceed upon a basis of ascertained fact.

No one who is concerned with the actual life and needs of the rapidly growing Churches of the East and Africa will fail to find in this book material of surpassing interest.

WILLIAM PATON.

FOREWORD

FOLLOWING its enlarged meeting at Jerusalem, a Department of Social and Industrial Research and Counsel was set up at Geneva in 1930 by the International Missionary Council. Its purpose was to collect and distribute information on the economic and social developments which challenge the Gospel of Christ and limit the growth of His Kingdom among the Younger Churches.

After completing a series of field studies in South Central Africa, the Department was moved to Eastern Asia in the summer of 1936 to assist in gathering material for use in the 1938 meeting of the International Missionary Council.

Political events during the past year, in the Far East and India, indicate that the Younger Churches are entering upon a phase of their history in which the prestige and protection of foreign missions is likely to be diminished and it is probable that the national Christians will be forced to rely on their own initiative and resources far more in the future than in the past. A close scrutiny of the economic and social position of the Younger Churches of Asia is therefore timely, considering the rapid advance of nationalism and the growing power of forces that are hostile to foreign missions and look upon Christianity as a danger to the cultural integrity of the race.

The report is related to the fourth main topic of the agenda of the 1938 meeting,—The Environment of the Church. It aims to provide such information on the economic and social environment of the Younger Churches as will throw light upon their power to maintain themselves as self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating bodies. The facts presented should indicate the main economic and social trends which affect the growth of the Church, the relation of these trends to its development and the principles

and methods by which Churches in different fields have dealt with these situations. It is hoped that this presentation may assist the Missionary Societies and the Younger Churches to adjust their policies and programmes more advantageously to the facts of their environment.

The original plan of the report was to include a discussion of the financial policies of the principal missionary societies in the various fields, together with an analysis of their experience in the development of vigorous churches through the use of these policies. Studies of these questions, which were undertaken for the Department by several of the National Christian Councils, did not arrive in time and had to be presented separately at the Tambaram meeting.

We also expected to treat the subject of the social task of the Younger Churches. This hope has not been realised owing to the delay in the receipt of papers from various Far Eastern countries. If possible the material on this subject will be prepared as a separate document.

The adjustment of the Christian enterprise to the supporting power of the Younger Churches is far from being a problem of economics only. It also has to be considered in reference to the spiritual, social and psychological factors that control the individual and the use of his economic resources. To attempt to measure the Church-supporting power of the younger Christian communities without considering these factors will lead to incomplete if not mistaken conclusions. An adequate treatment of the subject would call for the aid of economics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, rural agronomy and comparative study of religions. This has been impossible under the limitations of time and staff, but we have sought to meet the difficulty by enlisting the help of some of the best informed people in the countries of the Younger Churches in undertaking studies of their own communities.

This method has a number of advantages and differs from previous surveys made on the mission field. The studies have largely been made by nationals and not by specialists from abroad. The problems to be studied were defined and chosen in conferences of church and academic leaders in many

different places and are related to the experience of the Church in those areas. The Christian college and church leaders have worked together in collecting data and in drawing the implications from them. The colleges have placed their departments of economics and sociology at the service of the Church for the examination of some of the more technical problems of the Christian community. The total cost of this type of research in six Asiatic countries has been less than $4,000. The voluntary and paid services of more than one hundred people were secured. We believe that church leaders will more readily accept and put into action the findings of their own nationals than those of the foreign research visitor.

In China, joint studies by academic and church workers were started in the spring of 1937 under the leadership of Christian universities in six centres,—Peiping, Tungchow, Tsinan, Nanking, Foochow and Canton. Unfortunately the conflict with Japan has prevented the carrying out of these plans.

In India we have had the co-operation of fifteen Christian colleges and several Provincial Christian Councils. With the guidance of faculty members valuable studies have been completed, under the auspices of the Central Board of Christian Higher Education of the National Christian Council in nine political divisions. These studies cover many aspects of the life of the Christian communities and provide accurate information on the economic and social position of the Indian Church. A list of colleges, studies and names of directors appears in an appendix to this report. These studies have been published in pamphlet form as data papers for the Council meeting. A summary and interpretation of the findings has been prepared by Dr R. B. Manikam, Secretary of the Central Board of Christian Higher Education, and was available for the meeting.

Two studies of exceptional value have come from China as source material for the meeting. A comprehensive *Rural Church Survey*, under the direction of Professor Frank Price of Nanking Theological Seminary, was made in several provinces under the joint auspices of the Nanking Theological Seminary and the Department of Social and Industrial Research.

Mr Price had the assistance of many missionaries and Chinese leaders in this study of seventy-three churches, representing thirteen provinces and twenty-five mission and denominational groups.

Professor Ralph Felton of Drew Theological Seminary, in the course of a two-year lecture appointment in the Far East, has prepared a report on the *Rural Church in the Far East.* He presents interesting case studies of many churches in China, Korea and Japan from the point of view of church support.

Dr H. E. Blair of Taikyu, Korea, has prepared a valuable statement for the meeting upon the financial policy of the Presbyterian Church in Korea and the methods through which it has secured economic strength.

The National Christian Councils of China, the Philippines and India have co-operated with the Department on making studies of the financial policies of missions, and of the social task of the Church. A report on the Batak Church of Sumatra was circulated for the meeting.

These sources have been used freely in compiling this general report, and grateful acknowledgement is made to the groups and individuals who have made this material available.

Use has also been made of earlier mission surveys, and many Government documents, private commission reports and technical studies have been consulted,—in particular, *Christian Mass Movements in India* by Bishop Pickett; the reports of the Fact Finders' Commission on India, Burma and China; Lossing Buck's *Land Utilisation in China* and Edmund de S. Brunner's *Economic Survey of Korea.*

I am especially grateful to the secretaries of the National Christian Councils of China, India and the Philippines for their generous co-operation in collecting material and in placing their archives and office facilities at the disposal of the Department: to Dr S. C. Van Randwyck, Zendings Consul of the Netherlands Indies, and Dr E. Verwiebe, Superintendent of the Rhenish Mission in Sumatra, for their help in gathering information on the work of the Dutch and German missions

in Java and Sumatra; and to Ruth Allcock, secretary of the Department, for her assistance in the editing and proof-reading of the text.

Our thanks are also due to a large number of missionaries and national leaders in India, China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Straits Settlements, Netherlands Indies and Africa for supplying information through interviews and correspondence. The more formal data has been supplemented by my personal observations and studies, not only during the two years of special preparation for the 1938 meeting, but also during sixteen years of missionary experience in the Far East and association with the Department in its eight years of activity.

The report is based upon a belief in the power of facts as applied to the problems of the Church, in the principle of co-operation in securing data, and in the value of the interchange of ideas and experience between Churches and between fields. It is presented to the Tambaram meeting with the conviction that such a world gathering offers an incomparable opportunity for the widest use of these principles.

J. MERLE DAVIS.

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THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE YOUNGER CHURCHES

CHAPTER I

Economic Disparities on the Mission Field

'DO you know of any missionary movement in Christian history in which the Gospel of Christ was carried by a people of low economic standards to a group living on a higher economic level?' This question recently put to me by an Indian Christian provides the theme for this opening chapter. I had to admit that I could think of no such case, unless it was the witness of the Christian slaves in the Roman Empire to their pagan masters. We are here concerned not so much with the reasons underlying this situation as with its implications and effect upon the growth of the Younger Churches.

It is not a coincidence that the greatest mission-sending nations have also been the nations possessing the greatest store of material resources and the highest standards of living. This circumstance has exerted an incalculable influence upon the growth of the Younger Churches and the nature of the Christian movement that has arisen in their lands. The financial strength which supports the evangelistic purpose of the Older Churches not only has made it possible to send tens of thousands of missionaries to the non-Christian countries, but has enabled them to be maintained in countries of low economic levels on a scale of living, housing and expenditure approximating to that of their home lands. This economic power has built churches, schools, colleges, hospitals, Y.M.C.A. buildings, social settlements and other types of religious and philanthropic institutions, aggregating hundreds of millions of dollars in value. It has launched the Christian enterprise

upon a scale of expenditure that is above the supporting power of the people. Before the economic depression of 1931 it was estimated that the Protestant missionary enterprise in the world was costing upwards of $60,000,000 annually,—provided by the sending countries.

The financial resources of the West have made it possible for mission programmes and institutions to be planned upon a Western scale of values and standards. These programmes in many cases have assumed an indefinite continuance of foreign aid in upkeep, since they have rarely been developed with reference to the supporting power of the communities for which they were built. In several countries of the East modern Y.M.C.A. buildings were erected during a period when Western funds were plentiful and Western secretaries were available for supervision. With the withdrawal of foreign funds and secretarial help the upkeep of these buildings has become a serious problem. Adequate heating, cleaning and repairs, the heating and filtering of water for the swimming pool, and the growth of competing secular institutions for young men, place a responsibility upon these national associations for which they naturally are not fully prepared and which tends to overtax the economic power of the membership. The Y.M.C.A. building at Nagasaki, Japan, was built with funds raised in the United States through the vision of a local Christian Japanese leader. It was planned without reference to the weak supporting power of the Christian community of the city. Two North American secretaries struggled successively for ten years to develop the necessary local support for this foreign type of building. Within a few years of the withdrawal of the foreign stimulus the building was closed and now has passed out of the hands of the Christian Association.

The drastic withdrawal of mission personnel and funds since 1931 has deprived many Christian institutions of the management and subsidies necessary to maintain them at the degree of efficiency required by the original investment. In many fields there are expensive plants and equipment whose future supervision and upkeep are endangered because of previous disregard of the economic resources of the environ-

ment. In the beautiful granite building of the music school of a women's mission college in Korea stand seventy-five pianos, the gift of generous Western Christians for the cultural training of Korean girls. The care of this costly equipment must fall primarily on the missionary teaching staff, and in view of the type of culture of Korea and the great poverty of the people it would appear that the future of such standards of education is definitely bound up with the continuance of mission support and mission personnel.

A further cause of embarrassment is the outspoken challenge that these powerful centres of alien culture make to the new nationalism and renaissance of the Asiatic peoples. The rapid expansion of modern missions in Asia was effected during an era in which Western imperialism was in full swing. Missions of half a century ago did not dream of a Japanese colossus dominating the Far East and determined upon supplanting Western influence; or an awakened China, jealous of the penetration of Western culture; or a Congress Government strong enough to thwart the economic and cultural development of Indian Christians. It has been difficult, if not impossible, for these peoples accustomed to the simple economic standards of their own religious leaders wholly to dissociate the rapid growth of missions, backed by apparently unlimited financial resources, from the political and economic exploitation of the mission-sending nations. With the rise to power of the Asiatic races the era of material expansion of the Church through foreign financial resources is approaching its close and a period of demobilisation, if not of liquidation of the costly institutional activities of the Christian movement, has begun. Caught between the economic pressure of reduced support by the sending lands and the growing self-consciousness and self-assertion of the receiving lands, the missionary enterprise is compelled to re-define its aims and to interpret its programme in more spiritual and less material terms. One of the first steps toward this end is for Christian missions to apply themselves to the task of helping the Younger Churches build a Christian enterprise that is suited to the economic and cultural resources of their environment.

Another and more subtle difficulty that has arisen from the economic disparity between East and West—one that has penetrated to the very heart of the Christian movement and has limited its growth—is the mental attitudes and morale that this disparity tends to create in both the missionary and the people among whom he works. It is affirmed by certain Western Churches that Christianity must have no dealings with economic and social questions. However, on every mission field there is evidence that economic and social forces have, to an extraordinary degree, determined the direction and controlled the development of the infant Church. These forces, like an atmosphere, are so pervasive and unobtrusive as easily to escape recognition.

Economics create an immediate source of misunderstanding in the relationship of the missionary with his people. The missionary comes from a world where salaries and expenditure are immensely greater than those prevailing in his new field of work. He is looked upon as the representative of a wealthy and powerful organisation. On arrival in his field the missionary puts into operation a new standard of economic values. The mission becomes an employer and manager of new material enterprises on a scale hitherto unknown to the community, or associated only with the highest officials and gentry. The missionary's household servants in turn become the support of a circle of relatives; the building operations give employment to scores of artisans; the missionary's table is supplied with the produce of many little farms; before the advent of the automobile and the building of modern roads he travelled with a retinue of bearers, and the imported supplies of the mission were carried by a small army of coolies. There easily arose a certain sense of power, authority and superiority from the control of the economic and human resources at his command. To the average national the missionary appeared not so much as the exponent of a new religion or way of life as a possible source of personal economic improvement. The mission became a new centre of gravity, disturbing the traditional economic equilibrium of the community.

The mission station as an island of economic activity and

security is a familiar sight to the traveller in Central Africa. During a visit to one of the largest stations in Northern Rhodesia some years ago the missionary in charge pointed out to us the relation of the industrial activities of the mission to the growth of the Christian villages of the neighbourhood. Men were repairing the church roof that had collapsed during the rains; whole families were working at the brick kiln, making tiles and bricks; other labourers kept the nine-mile irrigation ditch in order, herded the cattle of the mission dairy or tended the kitchen gardens. Felling forest timber and preparing it for use in the carpentry shop and lumberyard gave employment to many. One or more buildings, related to the hospital, boys' school, girls' school, industrial school and mission residences, were always under construction, giving work to a permanent force of artisans, while the hospital, schools and missionaries' houses each required a complement of servants. The mission kept a permanent road gang to build and repair its roads; messengers, farmers and lorry drivers accounted for another score of employees. I was not surprised after spending three days in this hive of industry to learn that the mission supplied regular labour to five hundred people, representing a population of fifteen hundred or more, who resided in the two neighbouring villages. Most of these people were Christians and gained their livelihood from contact with the mission.

The most prominent compound and group of buildings in many Asiatic towns are those of a Christian mission. To occupy a niche in the foreign household, to become a cog in the complicated machinery of the overseas enterprise ensures a rare degree of security to the fortunate employee, and through him to a group of dependants. It is difficult for the West to conceive an economic situation in which little children seeking fuel compete with each other to catch the falling leaves in the missionary's garden; where the contents of his waste-paper basket are prized and where the leavings from his table and the refuse from his kitchen are considered sufficiently valuable to be worth the payment of a regular tribute to his cook. Yet it is a fact that these odds and ends are enough to keep a poor Chinese family in comparative comfort.

It is too much to expect the new missionary to have enough insight into the mind of the people, and the economic implications of their environment, to understand what a revolution he and his work represent in the economy of the community,—or to grasp fully the nature of the attraction that draws the people and holds them to the mission. A veteran missionary, born in China and well acquainted with the Chinese mind, states :—' The money factor was prominent very early in rural evangelistic work. It became a trap into which the missionary walked. His first act in starting a church in a new town was to buy a piece of land with a house on it. It cost a pittance in foreign values, but the purchase was a powerful lure to the people of the community. The man who sold the land promptly became a Christian and stood as a trustee of the property. He grew vegetables on the land, ran a shop in the house and failed to pay the mission rent. This was known by the neighbours who despised him for it and also despised the missionary. The caretaker, usually a deacon, received $4.00 Mex.[1] a month salary, a pittance to the missionary, but which was looked upon as a fortune by the Chinese farmer, for with it he supported a group of relatives. The missionary's congregations were largely " cooked up " for the occasion. The community heard by underground routes of his coming and they packed the church. The people gave him a warm welcome, gladly took his money, and after he had left went on living just as before. After the $4.00 Mex. per month ceased, with the death of the missionary, the group went out of existence. The better-class gentry of the district understood this subsidising process and despised the Christians for it. This is a reason why so few of the upper class Chinese have become Christians. Only in recent years has the full picture of the power of the missionary's money and the damage done by it been revealed.' While this statement is not typical of modern missionary methods and represents the experience of one mission in North China, it portrays the ease with which the use of foreign money is misunderstood, how it upsets the economic balance of a community living close to the subsistence level, and the peril

[1] 5s. sterling or $1.25 U.S.

to the Church that lurks in the disparity of financial standards between the missionary and the people he would win to Christ.

A further misunderstanding of the use of foreign money centres in the employment of nationals for evangelistic work. In a Chinese village the income of every family and the nature of each financial transaction are matters of common knowledge. The power of foreign dollars is a popular subject of gossip and the practically minded people, noticing that the evangelists who are sent by the mission to preach Christianity draw good salaries, conclude that money is used as a bribe to win converts.

The late Dr John L. Nevius of Shantung, in discussing the dangers of the mission policy of paying a native agency for evangelistic work, wrote:

> 'It lowers the whole mission enterprise in the eyes of the Christians themselves and of all the non-Christian community. Not knowing spiritual things, they take it for granted that the Christian is in it, as they would be, for financial advantage, actual or possible, and exhortations to them to believe are considered to be efforts to gather in members for the financial advantage of the exhorter. What the missionary is to get out of it they are not sure, but they are convinced that it is some material advantage as for the others.' [1]

A serious aspect of the use of foreign money in the field of the Younger Churches has been the growth of the 'mission compound mind'. A dilemma on every mission field has been the creation of the categories of 'employer' and 'employee' that issue from this disparity of economic levels. The role of the missionary as employer and dispenser of funds has created an unhealthy dependence with a consequent weakening of morale on the part of many workers in mission employ. In one of the studies of the economic and social conditions of Indian Christians made by the India Christian Colleges, the director, in speaking of the effect of the money relationship upon the growth of Indian leadership, says:

[1] *Methods of Mission Work.* 1886. Northern Presbyterian Mission Board, New York.

'So long as the West pays the East, perpetuating the attitude of master and servant, the outlook is gloomy. The Indian leadership and Indian expression cannot thrive in such surroundings. . . . The Western doctor also prefers an Indian assistant who is more passive and subservient than one with high initiative. He prefers an assistant to an equal. In the long run the assistant degenerates to a servant, losing sight of the Kingdom of God. This state of affairs is found in many hospitals and hits hard at the creation of Indian leadership of real life and fibre.' [1]

Missionaries and nationals alike freely deplore this development. The mission compound is the source of economic security—to differ with its policies, to assert one's individuality threatens this security. Many of the ablest minds and most forceful personalities in the Christian communities of mission lands have been lost to church leadership through their unwillingness to subject themselves to this relationship.

With the growth of national churches in Japan this unfortunate effect of mission work, which was present in the earlier decades of the Christian movement, has largely passed. In China it has been evident during the last decade of growing national self-consciousness and reconstruction. In India this effect is also seen, but it is modified by the rigid religious lines that are drawn in society, and the political, social and religious pressure upon the Christian community which tends to hold it together as a measure of self-preservation.

The missionary who has responsibility for distributing considerable sums of money for the support of pastors, evangelists and institutional work escapes only with difficulty the development of the mentality of a manager of men and of material affairs. His enterprise has a spiritual objective and generating source, but it has developed in such a way that it cannot go forward except on a monetary basis. Progress in the growth of leaders, churches, schools and hospitals tends to be measured in terms of money. The whole framework of missions has been built up on this foundation and it becomes

[1] It is expected that the scheme for an all-India Union Christian Medical College which has been maturing for several years will supply first-class Christian doctors and hospital directors.

more and more difficult to conceive of further development upon any other. Thus there is a perpetual conflict for supremacy between the spiritual and economic forces in the life of the missionary, with the odds in favour of economics winning out and the consequent secularism of the missionary influence in the community.

CHAPTER II

The Economic Environment

AGRICULTURE and rural conditions constitute the economic environment of a very large majority of the Younger Churches in the mission fields of the world. Between 80 and 90% of the churches in China, Korea, the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies and India are found in rural areas. Japan alone, of the Asiatic nations, has a greater church strength in the cities than in the country; 75 to 80% of her churches are urban in character. The Church in Asia has to deal with rural economics; of the 6,000,000 Protestant Christians enrolled in the churches of these six countries, fully 5,000,000 are making their living from the soil. An even larger proportion of the Christians of Africa are living under rural conditions. The Western Church is only slowly awakening to the implications of this fact.

The concept and organisation of the Church of the West have been developed by men trained for the most part under urban conditions, with the economic outlook and interests of an urban environment. An urbanised church has been transplanted in mission lands to a rural environment and economy. This situation calls for important readjustments in the missionary movement, particularly with respect to the experience of the missionary candidate, his selection and the nature of his training, in order that he may more effectively present the Christian life and programme in a way that will enable it to be domiciled and nourished in rural surroundings. The farmer the world over is not a salaried man; his economic power is inseparably bound up with the producing capacity of the soil, and hence is subjected to the caprices of nature. Church organisation and leadership should be in harmony with the economy of this environment and not make unreasonable demands upon it. A rural church requiring an

urban economy to support it will have but a halting and dependent existence. For instance, a community in which a small amount of coin is in circulation and where financial transactions are conducted largely on the basis of an exchange of produce, cannot be expected to support a pastor by cash payments.

It is not possible within the limits of this report to describe the nature of the economic environment of each of the large mission areas. However, we will discuss briefly some outstanding aspects, such as caste in the Indian village, which condition the growth of an independent church, and then speak of a few general economic situations, such as tenancy and modern industry, which are facing a majority of the Younger Churches.

Aside from the determinative factors of climate, topography, soils, crops, markets and the financial organisation of the country, the economic environment of the rural Christian in India is created by the requirements and relationships of the caste system. Fully 85% of the 3,000,000 Protestant Christians of India belong to the lower or outcaste groups, and live for the most part in the 700,000 villages scattered throughout the country.[1] The village is the economic unit of Indian life. To an extraordinary extent it is a self-contained, self-governing and complete economic and social organism. In its present form it is the product of the caste system, and to understand the nature of the environment which the village constitutes for the individual it will be useful to examine its most dominating institution, the *Jajmani* system.[2] W. H. Wiser describes it as follows :

'In a Hindu village in North India each individual has a fixed economic and social status, established by his birth in any given

[1] Census of India, 1931.

[2] It should be borne in mind that the detailed description of the *Jajmani* system given by Dr Wiser is fully applicable only to North India. While it is true that the sanctions of caste are weakened among many of the large Christian communities of South India, yet as a background for the economic and social life of the people and as an influence shaping their outlook and their opportunities for self-development, caste is still a universal and formidable factor with which the Church of India must reckon.

caste. If he is born into a carpenter family he finds himself related by blood to carpenters exclusively. All of his paternal and maternal relatives in that village or in other villages are members of the carpenter caste, and that alone. The men-folk in all of these families earn their livelihood through the carpentry trade, sometimes supplemented by agriculture. Each carpenter has his own clientele, which has become established through custom, and which continues from generation to generation. . . . This relationship once established cannot be broken except by the carpenter himself who may choose to sell his rights to another carpenter. It is heritable and sometimes transferable.[1] The relationship fixes responsibilities both on the carpenter and the one whom he serves. The carpenter during the sowing season must remove and sharpen the plough point once or twice a week. During the harvest he must keep sickles sharp and renew handles as often as demanded. He must be ready to repair a cart whenever called upon by a customer, or to make minor repairs on the customer's house. In exchange he receives at each harvest twenty-eight pounds of grain, for every plough owned by his client. . . .

'This service relationship is established not only between carpenters and other residents of the village, but affects all castes. Each caste in the village at some time during the year is expected to render a fixed type of service to each other caste. . . . The carpenter calls his entire clientele his *jajmani*. The individual family or head of the family whom the carpenter serves is called the carpenter's *jajman*. The *jajman* speaks of the carpenter's family and all other families who serve him as his *kam-wale*. . . . There are twenty-four different castes in Karimpur.[2] In their order of social precedence and traditional occupation they are as follows:

1. Brahman—priest and teacher.	Brahman and related.
2. Bhat—family bard and genealogist.	
3. Kyasht—accountant.	Kshatriya and related.
4. Sunar—goldsmith.	
5. Mali—florist.	Sudra.
6. Kachhi—vegetable grower.	
7. Lodha—rice grower.	
8. Barhai—carpenter.	
9. Nai—barber.	

[1] Indian Law Reports, vol. xliii. p. 35.

[2] See India Year-book.

10.	Kahar—water-bearer.	Sudra.
11.	Gadariya—shepherd.	
12.	Bharbhunja—grain parcher.	
13.	Darzi—seamster.	
14.	Kumhar—potter.	
15.	Mahajan—tradesman.	
16.	Teli—oil presser.	outcaste.
17.	Dhobi—washerman.	
18.	Dhanuk—mat maker.	
19.	Chamar—leather worker.	
20.	Bhangi—sweeper and cesspool cleaner.	
21.	Faqir—hereditary Mohammedan beggar.	
22.	Manihar—Mohammedan glass bangle seller.	
23.	Dhuna—Mohammedan cotton carder.	
24.	Tawaif—Mohammedan dancing girl.	

'These service relationships reveal that the priest, bard, ccountant, goldsmith, florist, vegetable grower, etc. etc., are erved by all of the other castes. They are the *jajmans* of these ther castes. In turn each of these castes has a form of service perform for others. In this manner the various castes of a Hindu illage in North India are interrelated in a service capacity. Each erves the others. Each in turn is master. Each in turn is servant. Each has his own clientele comprising members of different castes which is his *jajmani*. This system of interrelatedness in service within the Hindu community is called the Hindu *Jajmani* ystem.

'In return for various services rendered, there are payments n cash and kind made daily, monthly, bi-yearly, per piece of work, nd on special occasions, depending on the type of service rendered nd in part on the good will of the *jajman*. The strength of the ystem depends, however, not on the actual payments made but n the concessions granted to the different occupational groups. These may be listed as—

(*a*) Free residence site.
(*b*) Free food for family.
(*c*) Free clothing.
(*d*) Free food for animals.
(*e*) Free timber.

(*f*) Free dung.
(*g*) Rent-free land.
(*h*) Credit facilities.
(*i*) Opportunities for supplementary employment.
(*j*) Free use of tools, implements and draft animals.
(*k*) Free use of raw materials.
(*l*) Free hides.
(*m*) Free funeral pyre plot.
(*n*) Casual leave.
(*o*) Aid in litigation.
(*p*) Variety in diet.
(*q*) Healthful location.

'These concessions do not apply equally to all, but vary according to custom. The value of the concessions to the average man in any given group is so great that without hesitation he turns down a fixed cash income that may be offered to him by a mill employer in a neighbouring city. The Hindu *Jajmani* system has philosophical and religious sanction in the Laws of Manu which have served as guide for the Hindu social and economic organisation for almost 2000 years.' [1]

In his evaluation of the *Jajmani* system, Wiser says:

'The greatest contributing factor to a sense of security and social insurance in a village community is the recognition of its common responsibility for the livelihood of all its members, including its own dependants, delinquents and defectives.

'The strength of the Hindu *Jajmani* system is its all-inclusiveness. No accustomed want can arise for which provision is not made—land, food, seed, clothing, legal help, religious counsel, and numerous other types of help enumerated in this study. Various attempts have been made in India by reformers to build model villages on an individualistic basis. Most of them have failed because they are unable to give their members the security offered by a village enjoying *jajmani* relationships. A pattern of this type is not acquired in a day. It is the work of centuries. Numerous co-operative societies have attempted to replace *jajmans* by introducing a rigid credit system. Where wise managers have given the credit a flexibility like that offered by a *jajman* they have sur-

[1] W. H. Wiser, *The Hindu Jajmani System*, pp. 5–8, 10, 11.

ived. Otherwise they have failed. Those who would do away with unscrupulous *jajmans* must themselves be prepared to establish *jajmani* relationship. . . .

'This love for the security of the village is the despair of mill and factory owners, because very few labourers are willing to settle permanently in a factory area. The security of the village community is its strength.' [1]

Over-population, land hunger, paucity of natural resources, a primitive yet efficient and intensive type of agriculture, supplemented by a highly organised modern industrial system centred in rapidly growing cities, constitute the main features of the economic environment of the Church of Japan.

The contrast between the primitive small-scale operations of the farmers of Japan and the modern equipment and large-scale organisation and production of industry is most striking. This great development of the industrial centres has been at the expense of the rural population. The 1935 census reported the population of Japan proper as 69,254,148. The 1930 figure was 64,450,005—representing an annual increase during the five year period of nearly one million. In density of population Japan's ratio of 169 persons per sq. km. is exceeded only by Belgium (270), the Netherlands (233) and the United Kingdom (188) per sq. km. respectively. However, only 15·4% of the area of Japan's mountainous islands is under cultivation and on the basis of arable land her population density leads the world, amounting to 11 persons per sq. hectare, as contrasted with the Netherlands 8·7, Switzerland 8.2 and Italy 3·0. Between the years 1893 and 1925 there was a marked decrease in the expansion of Japan's rural population, with a corresponding growth of the urban population. It is of interest to note that these years were those of the rapid rise of modern industry. In 1893, a year before the Sino-Japanese war, the rural population comprised 84·03% of the total. By 1925 the percentage of the rural population had dropped to 63·41% and that of the urban population had risen to 36·59%.[2]

[1] W. H. Wiser, *The Hindu Jajmani System*, pp. 185, 186.

[2] R. Ishii, *Population Pressure and Economic Life in Japan*, ch. v.

The census studies in 1930[1] of the occupational distribution of employed workers report 49·6% employed in agriculture and fisheries. Hence approximately half of the people of Japan may be classed as rural. The minute size of Japanese farms, averaging under 2½ acres, is due to a number of causes. The extremely mountainous character of the country reduces the area of arable land; the feudal rulers were opposed to the development of powerful landholders and the size of landholdings was legally restricted; through generations of inheritance a family's holdings have been broken up and scattered through the village. The concentration upon rice cultivation and the meagre use of cattle in the economy of the Japanese farmer, are other reasons that explain the small size of his farm. Of the more than five and a half million farm households in Japan 34·6% cultivate holdings that are under 1½ acres in extent; 34·2% of the farming families live on from 1½ to 2½ acres, while only 9·3% of the farmers cultivate more than 5 acres of land.[2] With the remarkable rise of industry in Japan, agriculture has been in an almost static condition for several decades and, together with the farming population, has since 1933 been actually decreasing.

Subsidiary occupations play an important part in Japanese rural life. In addition to the widespread sericulture a great number of small commercial articles and component parts are manufactured or processed in homes. This cheap and widely distributed hand labour is a major reason why Japan can undersell other nations in world markets. 26% of Japan's farmers are so extensively engaged in this small-scale industrial production that they are listed in the census of 1935 as subsidiarily engaged in agriculture. Farms in Japan are cultivated by hand to a greater degree than in most Asiatic countries. This requires back-breaking toil of a type unknown in the West and necessitates the field labour of the women as well as the men of the family. Even under such conditions of family co-operation annual deficits are accruing on 34% of the farms. The Bureau of Agriculture estimates that if the average

[1] *Tokei Nenkan*, No. 54, 1935, p. 32.
[2] *Honpo Nogyo Yoran*, 1931, p. 34.

interest rate were applied to the farm investments, and if the average farm wages were paid to the family for its field labour, the Japanese farmer would have an average deficit of about 360 yen a year.[1]

The relation of the farmer to the land is the basic economic problem of the rural Christians of Asia. Fully one-half of the rural population is landless, either working as day labourers in the employ of others, or renting land belonging to others. The farmers of Asia have fallen on evil days. The rise in standards of living, together with the universal slump in the value of agrarian produce that has taken place throughout Asia in the last decade, has exerted a steady pressure upon the farming class and has seriously reduced their economic power. From each Asiatic land one hears the same story,—the fall in prices of rice and raw silk in Japan and Korea, the slump in coco-nut oil in the Philippines and in sugar, rubber, copra and tobacco in the Netherlands Indies, and the sharp decline of the prices of wheat, sugar, jute and other staple products of India. A most disturbing result has been the increase in loss of title to lands and the steady entrance of small landed proprietors into the tenant and labourer class.

The tenancy problem in Japan has in recent years become so acute as to threaten the peace and economic stability of the nation. Government statistics reveal the fact that somewhat less than 50% of the total farm acreage is cultivated by four million tenants who represent 70% of the total number of farm households. The customary rentals of rice fields range from less than 25% to more than 80% of the value of the produce, with an average rental of about 50%. To make the burden upon the farmers still heavier, in Japan the landlords are required to pay only the land tax; the tenant pays all other farming expenses.[2]

'The Japanese land rent is seven times that of England, three and a half times that of Germany and four times that of Italy.[3]

[1] Bureau of Agriculture, *Agricultural Abstract of Japan*, p. 145. The value of one yen at the date of issue of this abstract was about $105 or £2.1.

[2] R. Ishii, *Population Pressure and Economic Life in Japan*, p. 155.

[3] *Japan Agricultural Year Book.*

'It is rather surprising that the vast and ever-increasing population of tenants and part tenants have silently endured, until quite recently, the feudal heritage of such exorbitant rentals.' [1]

It is a matter of frequent comment that the radical tendencies and discontent associated in the West with an urban proletariat, centre in Japan among the rural workers. 'The disputes between landlords and tenants increased from 85 cases in 1917 to 5,828 in 1934. . . . One outstanding case, involving 250 landlords and 1,382 tenants, lasted for several years.' [2] Disputes originally arose over harvest questions but are now concerned with the right of tenancy and the equity of the rent. There is a strong effort by landlords to annul the contracts of their tenants and to recover their land, in order that it may be re-rented on a larger scale and worked under more profitable conditions. Great numbers of tenants have been losing their land under this pressure.

The agrarian discontent of Japan is based on even more fundamental factors than those inhering in the tenancy question. Chief among these is the conflict between cultural pressure, inducing a higher standard of living, and the inherited social and economic customs of the rural community. It is the farmer who also bears the burden of the nation's economic policy, in that general wages and the prices of manufactured products for export depend upon the mediæval economy, low standards of living and labour prices of the farm population.

Korea is predominatingly an agricultural land and shares the economic distress of the last decade with other Asiatic countries. According to the Government census of 1925, 80·3% of the Korean people were dependent upon farming for a livelihood.

'The Korean farmer has been steadily losing his ownership of the land. . . . Between 1915 and 1926 the total number of farms increased 4·7%, but the proportion of tenant farmers owning no land rose 25%, or more than five times as rapidly. . . . In the same period full tenants rose from 36 to 43·8% of the total number

[1] R. Ishii, *Population Pressure and Economic Life in Japan*, p. 155.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 155, 157.

of agriculturalists. Another 32% owned only a part of the land they worked. In other words, more than 75% of the Korean farmers in 1926 had to deal with landlords. Of the landlords about one-fifth rent all their land. This fifth own more than half the arable land of Korea.' [1]

The lot of the tenant is extremely hard.

'He tills on the average only 3 acres, of which about half is paddy-field for rice. The legal division of crops between landlord and tenant is fifty-fifty. . . . The tenant supplies all the labour and . . . usually all the seeds and fertiliser, and *pays all the taxes as well*. . . . An investigation in one district showed that the renter's share was only 17% (of the returns from the land he cultivated).' [2]

From various parts of Korea come accounts of the steady loss of land through mortgaging it to meet the interest payments on accumulating debts; the mortgage has been foreclosed and the hereditary patrimony lost beyond the possibility of recovery. In one district church in Kwanju, Southern Korea, only ten of the sixty farming households owned their own land. Here the average holding was one-half to three-quarters of an acre. The farm labourer in this district receives his food, clothes and 30 yen [3] a year from his employer.

'This problem is undeniably serious. It is proverbial that the man who holds a stake in the land he tills is more enterprising, more interested in the community, more socially stable than the tenant. Increasing tenancy among the farmers is likely to affect adversely the contributions to the Church both of money and time.' [4]

Of the 400,000,000 people of China from 80 to 90% are living under rural conditions. Approximately 300,000,000 live in villages of less than 2,500 population.[5] The average

[1] Edmund de S. Brunner, *Rural Korea—A Preliminary Survey of Economic, Social and Religious Conditions*, p. 104.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

[3] About £2 sterling or $10.00 U.S.

[4] Edmund de S. Brunner, *Rural Korea—A Preliminary Survey of Economic Social and Religious Conditions*, p. 104.

[5] *Christian Education in China* (1922), p. 203.

size of farms per household in North China is in the neighbourhood of 5 acres, dry cultivation; in South China where wet lands prevail it is about 2½ acres.[1]

From one-half to three-fifths of the farmers own the land they cultivate; one-fourth to one-fifth own part of their land and one-fourth are tenants. Ownership of land is much more common in North China. This is due to the greater productivity of the soil in South and Central China. Abundant capital is available in these areas for investment and the risks from drought and flood are less than in the North. These factors induce people of wealth to invest in land and rent it to the villagers. The greater strength of the clan system in the South has brought much land under the name of the clan. Individual clansmen may not buy land, but may rent it from the clan. The prosperous Buddhist temples in the South are in part supported by the rents collected from their farm lands.

Tenancy in China usually lasts a lifetime. The tenant is rarely able to buy his land; at best, his savings are meagre and credit facilities at reasonable rates of interest are usually non-existent. The low earnings of tenants as compared with those of landowners depress their standard of living.[2] Lossing Buck states that 'if tenants owned the land they farmed, and if they continued to farm as well as at present, their labour earnings would be 86% greater.'[3]

'This tenancy situation has an important bearing upon the development of new social institutions, such as the Christian Church, which are not a part of the natural social order of the area. The wealthy owners of land, loyal to their own institutions, the clans developed about ancestor worship, the families loyal to their own group, the Buddhists interested in the welfare of their religion, and the demand for land upon the part of the peasants to insure a livelihood, make it almost impossible for farm tenants to attach themselves to social organisations to which these powerful groups are antagonistic. Economic pressure makes the peasant afraid to

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[1] W. A. Anderson, *Report of the Fact Finding Commission*, vol. iii., China, p. 179.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 183, 184. [3] Lossing Buck, *Land Utilisation in China*.

break from his moorings. As a consequence the progress of the Church is impeded. . . . The Church can reach the owner-operator more easily than the tenant, because of the economic dependence of the latter. If owners found themselves benefited by new agricultural practices instituted by Christian organisations they might be expected to become favourable to those who gave them aid.'[1]

Land tenancy is the chief economic problem of the people of the Philippine Islands. Educators, business men, religious leaders and officials alike deplore the unfortunate condition of the tenant farmer and emphasise the importance of drastic reform of tenancy laws in the Philippines to save the rural population from economic disaster. Unfortunately the Roman Catholic Church, as one of the greatest landlords in the Islands, is deeply involved in this tenancy situation. Under the present system of exorbitant rentals and harsh evictions for non-payment of rent, the Filipino farmer is rapidly becoming landless and is entering the ranks of the wage-earner.

Contrasted with the rural environment of the Younger Churches are the urban and semi-urban surroundings of the modern industrial proletariat of the cities and the great mining and plantation developments that have sprung up in places remote from former centres of population. Every major country in which the Church has been established has experienced the impact of modern industry and the consequent growth of a new industrial population. Migrations of people from the rural areas to the cities and to the new centres of rural industry have followed. These large population movements from a rural to an urban environment, occasioned by the power of economics, present to the Church both a first-class problem and an unprecedented opportunity. Western capital in the last few decades has been increasingly attracted to areas of undeveloped natural resources where, in many instances, an unlimited supply of cheap labour is to be found side by side with raw materials. The political, economic and cultural destiny of the peoples of the continents of Asia and Africa is

[1] W. A. Anderson, *Report of the Fact Finding Commission*, vol. iii., China, p. 184.

to a very large degree being shaped by this coincidence of natural resources and cheap labour.

We are concerned here chiefly with the new responsibilities which these developments place upon the Church and their bearing on the growth of financially independent Christian communities. Throughout the lands of the Younger Churches the power of economics in creating a new human environment is confronting the Church with more or less uniform problems and opportunities. The young men and women from the farms who work in Japanese silk mills and foundries, Chinese youth in the cotton mills of the coastal cities, the Malay labourers on the coffee and rubber plantations of Sumatra, pickers on the tea estates of Assam, workers in the jute and cotton mills of India, or the Bantu in the gold and copper mines of Africa, all enter a new life with a new outlook,—a life and outlook that has been changed by the power of gold. New communities with changed responsibilities and interests, weakened resistances and new economic, social and moral problems create a difficult situation for the Church, whose programme has been arranged to meet the needs of quite a different environment. It is not surprising that the Church should not immediately grasp the full significance of these swift and tremendous changes in society.

The Copper Belt of Central Africa offers a concrete example of the influence of a new economic environment upon a community and the implications of this new order for the Church. The Copper Belt presents certain aspects that belong primarily to Africa, but the general characteristics of this human drama are typical of what is taking place in other lands of the Younger Churches.

On the high tableland which forms the watershed between the basins of the Congo and Zambesi rivers, in the territories of Belgian Congo and Northern Rhodesia, £15,000,000 ($75,000,000) was invested during the years 1920 to 1930 in the development of one of the greatest deposits of copper ore that has yet been discovered. With astonishing speed the expenditure of this vast sum changed an African wilderness, formerly inhabited only by big game and wandering tribes, into one of the largest centres of heavy industry in the continent.

The headgear and reduction works of twelve mines appeared on either side of the international frontier, surrounded by labour camps, subsidiary industrial plants and supported by railway lines and small towns, furnished with the latest mechanical appliances and the amenities of Western civilisation. The revolutionary power of monetary investment was further seen in the attraction to this centre of scores of thousands of native Africans, representing 13 different political divisions of Africa and more than one hundred tribes and ninety languages. These men, in many cases accompanied by their wives and children, came from regions as far distant as Kenya, Uganda, Portuguese East and West Africa and the Union of South Africa, drawn by the high wages and novelty of the new life and environment on the Copper Belt.

The impact of the mines fell with bewildering force on many of the missions of Belgian Congo, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Whole districts were partially depopulated, in certain areas 80% of the able-bodied men sought employment on the mines; sources of food supply, upon which mission schools had long depended, disappeared; commodity prices soared; artisans, labourers, house-boys, and even teachers and evangelists deserted the missions for the Copper Belt. One large mission school was closed for several months for lack of provisions; another school near the mines lost every one of its twenty-five girls who, one by one, succumbed to the temptation of immoral employment. Some mission stations were left isolated by the shifting of travel routes and of population. As the years passed, and with the growth of new communities of Africans on the Copper Belt, missions were faced with the question of the adequacy of the education they were offering to Bantu boys and girls. A new orientation of curricula for the needs of an urban as well as a rural people had to be thought out. A more virile religious faith, through which their people might withstand the new temptations of the mine compounds, was needed. The Bantu were in danger of being swept off their feet by the new liberties and opportunities offered by the mines. A re-adjustment of mission policy was essential if the Christian Bantu was to be held from slipping

back into paganism. Thus on almost every side of the missions' life the economic influence of the mines worked revolutionary changes.

The impact of the Copper Belt upon the African himself was even more revolutionary than upon missions. He discovered that he could live a life independent of his family and tribal relationships. The old restrictions and obligations rested lightly upon him and he found himself in a kind of moral 'no-man's-land' where neither the old nor the new sanctions of conduct troubled him. This new society of detached and semi-urbanised Africans, uprooted and open to every influence of European and Bantu life, presented an unprecedented challenge and opportunity to the Church.

The formation of the United Missions in the Copper Belt is the Church's reply to the challenge. This joint missionary effort was started in July 1936 through the collaboration of the London Missionary Society, the Church of Scotland, the Methodist Missionary Society, the South African Baptist Mission, the United Society for Christian Literature, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa and the South African Presbyterian Church. With the exception of the last named, all these societies have appointed members to the team of workers who were specially chosen to minister to the peculiar needs of a mining population. Evangelism, education, work for women and children, social and recreational work and literature are the chief lines of approach. In the United Missions in the Copper Belt is seen, not only an example of practical co-operation on the mission field, but also an illustration of the possibility of adjusting the methods and message of the Church to the special demands of a changed social and economic environment. Church members coming to the Copper Belt from up-country Protestant Missions become members of the Union Church in the Copper Belt during their residence in the mining area, returning to their own churches when they go home.[1]

[1] The relation of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa differs from that of other societies in that it cannot participate in the Union Church; it co-operates in every other way, particularly in educational and social welfare work.

There is a tendency to deplore the entrance of powerful economic forces into the field of the Church, and the consequent break-up of social customs, sanctions and groupings. We wish to point out that these forces belong to God, are subject to His Will and are His gift to men. We believe that God intends the Church to deal intelligently and purposefully with these economic principles and to build them into His Kingdom. They may readily become a menace to mankind if abandoned to the selfish interests of the materialists, but the possibility of using them to extend God's Kingdom is seen on many mission fields. The cupidity of New York and London stockholders has brought together thousands of African tribesmen; it has also given to the Church a priceless opportunity to make contacts with hitherto inaccessible peoples. The indentured labourer of the Witwatersrand and the Copper Belt often returns to his distant village and spreads the 'good news' that he has heard from the evangelist of the mine compound. To the youth of Asia the cinema is often a source of degradation and distortion of truth. It may become a powerful aid in education and in interpreting social and religious ideals. Economic forces may be used to serve the noblest purposes of the Church; but we must be alive to the opportunities which swiftly moving modern life brings to our very doors. The long rollers of the Pacific that break upon the beaches of Hawaii will batter the life from the body of the tyro who opposes them, but to the surf-rider who has measured their strength and timed their speed the same waves become the steed which bears him safely to the shore.

CHAPTER III

The Social Environment

THE social environment of the Younger Churches is a product of the cultural inheritance of the people. Next to the spiritual inheritance it is the most important of all the factors that Christianity must deal with in the approach to these nations. With it is inseparably woven all that is most characteristic and precious in the nation's life; not only the *mores*,—the traditional ways of life—but also the body of common law, the moral and religious sanctions and the framework of social and human relationships. We are here standing at the threshold of the genius of the race. It is these things which make one man a Japanese, another a Malay and a third an Englishman. Here is the source of a man's æsthetic values, his very forms of speech and mental and spiritual processes.

There are three areas in which this cultural inheritance has found expression, with each of which the Christian Church has sooner or later to come to terms—religion, customary law and the organisation of society, including the clan and family systems. These areas overlap and reinforce one another and present to the missionary a complicated and highly involved social pattern. The early attitude of foreign missions was to consider these non-Christian religions and the social and cultural systems with which they were allied as heathen. It was a simple and clean-cut classification. The science of anthropology, the comparative study of religions, archæology and art had not as yet assisted the West to understand Asiatic culture. Western imperialism with its political and economic exploitation of these peoples was in its early stages; the contradictions and faults of the civilisations of the mission-sending countries were not yet fully known. The realisation of these inconsistencies and many other influences have come swiftly with the last decades of the nineteenth and the first

decades of the twentieth centuries to complicate enormously the task of the Church. The advance lines of the Church in non-Christian lands no longer find citadels of darkness only in their front, but have become aware of formidable citadels of evil in their rear, in the lands from which they have been sent. The modern missionary has to make a two-fold readjustment of attitude in taking up his work,—first with respect to the nature of the social and cultural environment of the people to whom he brings a knowledge of the Saviour of mankind, and second, and equally important, a readjustment regarding the superiority and worth of the social and economic order of the West. It requires accurate thought on the part of the missionary to distinguish between the universal validity of the saving power of the Christ he preaches and that of the civilisation he represents.

I would like to present the social and cultural environment of the Churches of the Asiatic countries not as an obstacle to be overcome but, on the contrary, as a storehouse of the finest treasures that the races have amassed in their struggles towards self-fulfilment. The eternal God has been dealing with each of these races through the millenniums of their history. In various ways and varying degrees He has revealed Himself and His Will to each race. The perception of the revelation has often been imperfect and dim, but it is found in every race. This revelation is embodied in worship, laws, social and moral sanctions, æsthetic appreciation, insight into the meaning of life and its philosophy, veneration of nature and its beauty, types of human relationship and loyalties and respects that are different from the standards and appreciations of the West.

In this intricate plan of life in the East, God has spoken and has built. It is the task of the Christian Church to face these life patterns reverently and to study their meaning; to try to discover those foundation stones and main beams in the *mores* of the people that have made them Asiatic rather than Anglo-Saxon, and to build these things into the structure whose corner-stone is Christ. This is not an easy task. It has seemed far more suitable to build European and American

stones and girders into a new edifice, than to use the old. It is a delicate and costly process—costly in research, experimentation, patience and faith—but it cannot be avoided if we are to honour God's own workmanship and build with Him rather than ignorantly pull down what He has made. This task must be accepted if the Church is to be built on a plan and foundations that will endure as a Chinese or Indian, and not an American or European institution. It may be that the slow progress of the Church in many parts of the world has been due in part to the inability of Christ's messengers to distinguish granite from rubble, or to appreciate the suitability of letting the old framework assist in carrying the new structure.

The Church of Christ has a two-fold duty with regard to its social environment. The first is the necessity of transforming the environment by making its institutions and practices conformable to the Will of God and a suitable place in which the Christian life may be lived. The second is to use those forces in the environment that are not opposed to God's will as instruments for building His Church. There have been wide differences in mission policy and practice in this sphere. It will be of interest to review briefly certain instances in which the Church in the mission field has definitely made use of its environment as an adjunct to its mission.

An outstanding case is the Batak Church of Sumatra. The early Rhenish missionaries found this primitive and animistic people, who had been isolated for centuries in the highlands of Northern Sumatra, with only the crudest ideas of religion and without a developed system of idol worship or sacrifice. Their common law, or *adat*, embodying the cultural inheritance of their race, taught a strict code of marital fidelity and relationship between the sexes. The *adat* also provided for specific economic and political relationships based on fairly high concepts of justice and rights as between individuals and clans. The life of the race was regulated to the nicest detail by reference to this code of traditional law. The German missionaries decided to use the *adat* as the foundation of the life of the Christian community. It was a notable decision, since

under it the Batak people could be brought into the Church without severing them from their inheritance.

The transition has created problems that have required courage, wisdom and patience and it was made possible by the negligible use of heathen sacrifices and the alleged standards of social purity in the old order. These rules of conduct were honoured as often in the breach as in the observance, but they stood as the accepted code of the people and with slight changes it became possible to put the seal of Christ upon them. Church organisation, attendance and discipline, the prerogatives and duties of the pastor, church official and member, have all found their way into the *adat*, along with ancient Batak sanctions.

It is not surprising in view of this history to learn of notable mass movements of Bataks into the Church and to find among them a pride and sense of possession in the Christian way of life. There are to-day 400,000 Bataks gathered in the Christian Church out of a community of 1,100,000. They form one of the strongest and most rapidly growing indigenous Churches of the world. It is an independent Church, during half a century having never received a cent from the Mission for the support of its pastors or the building of its churches. One of the most cogent reasons for this remarkable record has been that the Bataks have carried over into the new life the solidarity of the old culture without being compelled to give up their folkways as a condition of conversion.

Among the Angkola Bataks of the Mohammedan branch of the race, the *adat* has become a meeting ground upon which Christians and Moslems keep up a considerable measure of social intercourse. The family feasts on the occasion of births, marriages and deaths are widely attended by the people of the neighbourhood, irrespective of religion. The Mohammedan headman usually presides, but the Christian pastor is also given a place of honour. Both religious leaders make remarks appropriate to the occasion. The headman wishes the infant or the bridal pair 'good luck' and long life, and the pastor speaks of the inner Christian meaning of these

landmarks in the history of the family. These social occasions present an opportunity to explain the Christian significance of life to the Mohammedans without proselytising. This has resulted in further inquiries by Mohammedans about a religion which attaches such unusual values to life and has opened the way to Christian conversion. At these feasts the old Batak food symbols are served, the Batak dances and songs as well as Christian hymns are used. The heathen connotation of these things has been dropped by the second and third generation Christians and, 'they enjoy them for just what they are—music and dancing.'

The absence of idol worship and sacrifice and the strict code of social conduct makes possible the usage of a system of non-Christian customary law which would be quite out of the question under other circumstances. The principle, however, of using the foundations of a people's life in building the Church is a basic one which, even under the most difficult circumstances and in the presence of the most destructive elements, may well occupy the best thought of the missionary.

We turn to Africa for a further example of the possibility of using the solid rock that may be found under the rubbish of a racial institution that has been generally condemned by the Christian Church. The initiation school in which boys and girls on reaching adolescence are prepared for the responsibilities of maturity has a central place in the organisation of society among Bantu tribes from East Africa to the Cape. This course of education and self-discipline is considered so vital a preparation for life that many tribes repudiate the young man or woman who has not been initiated. The subject has been treated thoroughly by the late Swiss missionary and anthropologist, H. A. Junod.[1] The boys receive months of rigorous training with the object of imparting courage and hardihood under conditions of cold, hunger, loneliness and danger. Lessons are given in the folklore and traditions of the tribe, in forest lore and hunting, in manners and behaviour to superiors, strangers and women. Sex life and development,

[1] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*. 1927. Macmillan.

including the ritual of circumcision, is given particular attention. It is this aspect of the initiation schools, so out of harmony with Christian practice, that has usually placed it without the pale in the eyes of the missionary. The modern Christian approach to sex education, and the principles of youth movements,—not to mention the work of anthropology, have helped to separate the wheat from the tares of this African institution. For a number of years courageous and, in a measure, successful attempts have been made by missions in various parts of Africa to Christianise the initiation school, notably those under the leadership of the Bishop of Masasi in East Africa. In a situation so full of obvious difficulties, and around which so much controversy gathers, it is too early to speak of definite accomplishments; we believe, however, that for those whose lives are dedicated to the service of the African there can be no more important field of study than that of harmonising this basic institution, which constitutes the tribunal of Bantu social and moral judgments, with the programme of the Christian Church.

From the beginning of Christian Missions in the East there has been a general condemnation of that aspect of the family system commonly known as ancestor worship which is so widely practised among Oriental peoples. The Protestant Church firmly holds the incompatibility of ancestor worship with the first commandment. It is unfortunate that with the condemnation there has often appeared an attitude of scanty respect for other aspects of this Oriental corner-stone of society,—namely, the veneration and meticulous care for parents, the deep respect for family ancestors and the safeguarding of the family line. This veneration is shown in a variety of ways in the daily lives of the people of all Far Eastern lands. A religion which does not approach this 'holy of holies' with sincere respect and with an earnest effort to understand cannot expect to make great headway in converting a people to Christ. The poor, the outcastes, those lightly anchored in society and the courageous may come forward, but the great bulk of the nation that holds to the heritage of race and culture will remain unmoved. The missionary from the

democratic and individualistic West tends to give the injunction, 'Honour thy father and thy mother', but slight attention in his keen application of, 'Thou shalt have none other gods before Me'.

There is room for earnest experimentation by the Church in finding a larger place for the expression of this racial instinct of family veneration within the ambit of Christian standards and practice. Some years ago a missionary in Japan began to commemorate the anniversary of the death of his father, who had had a notable career as a missionary, by a special family service. In the early evening, before the children were put to bed, the family assembled in front of the fireplace in the living-room; upon the mantel were arranged on either side of the grandfather's photograph two Japanese vases filled with flowers he had loved. A simple service was held, his favourite hymns were sung and a scripture portion that had been his life's watchword was repeated. The missionary then read to the children short extracts from the biography of his father, telling of his courage and the hardships he had overcome as a child and giving glimpses of his later Christian heroism. The children were invited to relate memories of their grandfather, the parents added their tribute and the service closed with a prayer that God would give to each member of the family strength to emulate the Christlike qualities of the grandfather. This was a Christian service, built upon the pattern of Oriental cultural behaviour. Here every dictate of Oriental respect of ancestors was fulfilled, save the final act of worship of the departed spirit. On every possible occasion in the subsequent years the members of this family make the pilgrimage to the mountain cemetery near Kyoto where the ashes of the grandparents are entombed beside those of Japanese associates, and hold brief but appropriate memorial services. Christianity will find a new appeal to the Oriental when it succeeds in discovering in the familiar region of his cultural inheritance paths which he may follow in his quest for the Kingdom of God.

Caste is the central and dominating factor which creates and controls the social environment of the Indian Christian.

J. S. Ponniah [1] in his study of the social and economic conditions of the Christian communities of Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly clearly defines the nature of the caste system as a social institution and its influence upon society. He says:

'An attempt has been made in recent years to present a view of caste as a functional division on the basis of mutual service and co-operative action for harmonious social progress. Under this view "exclusiveness" and "untouchability" are but malignant growths of an otherwise sound system of social organisation. There are two points, however, that need consideration; first, the functional classification has been made to rest on a wrong basis; namely, an individual's birth in a particular caste group, and not upon his actual performance of the function assigned to that group. Secondly, the contention that the divisions into castes do not imply superiority of one caste over another is not borne out by the facts of social conditions either in the past or at the present moment. . . . Ideas of inferiority are bound to be associated with any function in which the labour of a menial, such as sweeping, or labour of an undignified character, such as tanning, is involved. These associations are woven into the subconscious mind of the Indian by sheer weight of the antiquity of the institution, and exercise a deadening influence on his whole outlook and every action of his life. The psychological effect of caste is an inferiority complex for the lower castes and a superiority complex for the higher, and since the basis of caste is birth, the institution has perpetuated and will continue to perpetuate exclusiveness and untouchability. In most places the lower castes are obliged to live outside the village or in quarters segregated from those of the higher castes. They are not allowed ordinarily to use the streets of caste men and cannot draw water from their wells. In some cases rights of attendance at even the Government-recognised schools are denied or abridged. Their code of behaviour, style of dress and ornaments have been prescribed by custom in such a way that will prevent them from rising above their appointed status.'

The *biradari* or caste brotherhood of the Indian village is a formidable social barrier in the path of the Church in

[1] Survey made by the American College, Madura, S. India, under the direction of Prof. J. S. Ponniah, M.A.

Northern India. The studies of the economic and social environment of the Church, made by the Christian Colleges of the United Provinces and the Punjab, provide overwhelming evidence of the hold of the *biradari* upon many of the scattered Christians of these provinces. It is a question whether the Church can cope with this institution in any other way than by attempting to play the role that the *biradari* plays, and provide the fellowship, services and discipline which it supplies.

In the study of the economic implications of conversion, made by N. Timothy [1] in speaking of the depressed class sweeper, he says:

> 'It is in fact this *biradari* that provides for the converts the whole atmosphere and environment in which they " live and move and have their being." They cannot get out of this *biradari* without getting out of their profession. So long as they follow its rules the *biradari* does not care what label they put on themselves. . . . The difficulties they have to face on becoming Christians are . . . from their own *biradari*. The ties of the *biradari* are so great upon them that it is almost impossible for them to shake off their influence and to take a new direction in the way of life. If some individuals among them cut off their connection from their *biradari* . . . there is nothing in their surroundings to help them to acquire a sense of the new brotherhood they have entered. . . . Social obstacles not only in the way of conversion, but particularly in the way of adopting a truly Christian attitude of life, are the fear of social boycott, if they do not conform to the social rules of their *biradari*, and the difficulties in arranging marriages. There is also the social pressure of the higher castes for whom they work, particularly the *zamindar*.' [2]

E. C. Bhatty [3] in his study of the economic and social implications of conversion, made under the auspices of Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, gives a detailed description of the caste *panchayats*, the local councils through which the sanctions of the *biradari* are carried out. Under the title

[1] Survey made by St John's College, Agra, United Provinces, India, under the direction of Prof. N. Timothy, M.A.

[2] Hereditary landowner.

[3] Survey made by Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, United Provinces, India, under the direction of Prof. E. C. Bhatty, M.A.

Caste Panchayats and the Rural Church in the United Provinces, he writes:

'Among the depressed classes the *panchayat* is a very powerful organisation. It has successfully combated the disruptive influence of modern times and generally speaking has retained in the same degree its hold on the life of the people as it did centuries ago. It is based upon democratic principles and is perfect in its organisation. The *panchayats* were organised for two reasons; first, to bind together all those persons who had the same caste origin and were pursuing the same traditional occupations and required to be protected from the men of the higher castes. It also gave protection against any infringement of professional rights within their own group by enforcing caste restrictions, making marriage contracts, rules relating to misconduct, occupational customs and other social observances.

'The extent to which the *panchayats* control the life of the community may be seen from the following list of acts and relationships over which they take cognizance and for the breach of which they may exact penalties:

1. All breaches of caste rules relating to matrimony, death and birth; breach of betrothal, dishonourable conduct in respect of marriage, improper behaviour of husband and wife toward each other, failure to perform the rites relating to a deceased person.
2. Cases of elopement, immorality or enticing away of women.
3. Carrying away the carcass of an animal against the prevailing custom.
4. Interference with marriage or death ceremonies of another member of the caste.
5. Failure to discharge a valid debt of a person under the *panchayat*.
6. Breach of social laws and regulations to which the caste are subject.
7. Breach of trust, or fraud.
8. Failure to observe the law of the land. A person who is convicted of an offence in a recognised Court is also subject to punishment by the *panchayat*.
9. Infringement of *jajmani* [1] rights.

[1] Rights of the employer or patron.

'The *panchayat* acts as a trustee of common property, such as wells, public utensils, school buildings and *chabutra*—the public booth where the members of the caste may sit. It is responsible for repairs and maintenance of these places. All expenses connected with these matters are defrayed from the common fund. Marriages are also sometimes arranged by the *panchayats*. Orphans are taken charge of and made over to couples without children.'

A Chinese Christian leader in Nanking dealt frankly from his personal experience with the attitude of the Church toward national customs.[1] He said, 'The early missionaries held a militant attitude about the question of Chinese customs and traditions. They believed that for the good of the Chinaman's soul he should cut off all Chinese practices. They did not understand the inner meaning of what they saw the Chinese doing. It was just all 'heathen' to them. For example, when a Chinese dies his family burn a lot of paper money and joss sticks, which can be considered a fumigation of the premises. By burning the sick man's clothes and bedding much disease is checked. The real motive behind these practices is hygienic. Pilgrimages are made in the slack season when farmers have least to do after planting the spring crops. They provide a fine excursion, give the hard-working village people a change and real recreation and social diversion from the monotony of their work. The Church has substituted no social and mental outlet for these age-long practices. My father who was a devout Buddhist spent his whole time studying Chinese civilisation. When he finally became a Christian he used to say, "The higher I can put Chinese civilisation, the higher I can place Christ,—for there are ninety-nine rungs in the ladder of aspiration toward God, and the one-hundredth rung is Christ."'

[1] This is interesting as the point of view of an individual Chinese leader. Other Chinese Christians state that it is too broad a generalisation.

CHAPTER IV

The Psychology of Self-support

WITHIN a year I have heard in several of the countries of Eastern Asia the remark, 'I sometimes wish we could begin all over again with a different use of foreign money.' This was not the comment of young missionaries but of veterans in the light of a generation of effort to establish the Church of Christ. Behind this comment is the realisation of a neglect of elemental laws controlling growth of power, incentives to action, self-discipline and self-respect. In this area are found the mainsprings that control the development of the infant Church no less than that of the infant child. It is as futile to expect a Church to develop more than a flabby, uncertain life, on the basis of a generation of external support, as to expect a strong man or woman to result from a similar course of treatment. The same principles are involved and the same laws in each case are broken. With the infant Church an indefinite period of external financial support is a further neglect of law, because the Church is composed of groups of mature persons who have made more or less satisfactory adjustments to their environment, while the human infant has to spend its first decade in making these adjustments. It is true that the new members of the Asiatic Church are babes in Christ and may require a long period of spiritual nurture before they are able to cope with their moral and spiritual environment, but they are by no means babes with respect to their economic environment, and to treat them as such is to do them and the Church a serious injury. This tendency to overlook these laws of growth is due to a number of factors.

The missionary begins his work in the new field a creature of an alien environment, with alien points of view, assumptions and standards. The conception of the Church he has come

to develop inheres in his Western environment. It is difficult for him to visualise any other type of Church—building organisation, polity, programme or maintenance—than that in which he has been trained. However, the Church is a new phenomenon in the Asiatic community. It is foreign to its life in almost every detail. It does not fit into the social or economic patterns of Asia. It requires an alien style of building, a new type of leadership, a strange form of worship, a new technique of community corporate action, centring around a new source of authority and discipline, and places a new economic load upon a community already living on a nicely balanced traditional economy. To set in motion such complex machinery in the midst of an ancient system of society and economy, requires outside stimulus and assistance. Unless the Church from the outset is consciously seeking to find nourishment for its tendrils in the cultural and economic soil of the environment the chances are that it will remain an alien enterprise and outside stimulus and assistance will become a permanent necessity.

The missionary does not readily see in the novel culture around him those things that may become vehicles for carrying forward the Kingdom of God. His mind is occupied with the terms of reference given him by his missionary society. Reinforcing these terms of reference are funds to enable him to carry them out. He is expected to use these funds for church building, pastoral support and the payment of Biblewomen and evangelists. He is thus given a 'blue print' to build upon and the means with which to build; his mind and hands are fully occupied with a programme that precludes the possibility of exploring new methods of approach to and orientation of the missionary enterprise. The possibility of such exploration is rendered still more remote by the fact that the missionary has entered into an inheritance and tradition of method, policy, institutions and finance,—in short, a system which must be kept up on the assumption that the complex enterprise, if it is to go forward, must continue to receive stimulus and financial help from abroad. The members of the mission staff which he joins are

often staggering under serious reductions of men and money and he is apt to find himself loaded with heavy responsibilities that have been incurred by his predecessors. In such circumstances it is rare indeed for the missionary to become sufficiently detached in spirit to see the mission enterprise in terms of the resources and realities of the environment, or to be able to exercise his imagination or ingenuity in the sphere of experimentation in that environment.

A third factor that tends to prevent the mission staff from exploring the psychological, cultural and economic resources of the people among whom they work is the sense of the urgency and immediacy of their task. The news of the redeeming power of Christ is being carried to a lost world and the pressure upon His messengers quickly to make Him known is unspeakably great. The individualistic concept of society, held by most of the mission-sending nations, allied with the Christian teaching of the moral responsibility of every man before God, places soul-winning as the supreme goal of the Church. This goal is and must always be the supreme objective of the Church, but the Church must be able to recognise in the environment of the convert the full nature of the conditions under which he has to struggle to live a Christlike life and do its utmost to strive to make these conditions subject to the Will of God. The limitations which the social and economic environment place upon the effectiveness and permanence of the individual convert's experience of the redemptive power of Christ have only in recent years begun to be widely recognised. The responsibility of the Church to try to create a social and economic order in which the individual believer will find it possible to live a truly Christian life of enlarging personality is inescapable. The findings of the India college studies of the economic and social environment of the Church provide striking evidence on this point.

In many fields time has not allowed for concentration upon the building up of strong indigenous churches and a sufficiently trained national leadership to minister to them. Upon the mission field more than in most spheres of human

activity it is difficult to get the perspective of the Creator of the universe who measures time by the life cycles of the stars and to whom 'a thousand years are as a watch in the night.' We believe that the destiny of future generations of God's children is of concern to Him and that the Church of to-day, which is indifferent to the task of helping to make society a place in which these future generations will find it easier to live a Christlike life, cannot be pleasing to Him.

We have seen in the sphere of religion as it has entered many Asiatic lands the assumption that there must be an indefinite period of economic assistance from abroad. In no other department of the national life of these awakened nations does this assumption prevail. The Japanese people accepted foreign tutelage and help during the first two or three decades of the opening of their country to the world; foreign advisers, experts and teachers were placed in practically every department of the Government and in the Universities and new industrial undertakings. Large sums of foreign money were accepted as loans, to be liquidated in due time by the national customs service and by foreign trade. By the turn of the century the majority of these foreign guides had been dismissed, and to-day, except for teachers of Western languages, foreign experts in Japanese Government employ are rarely found. It is true that Christianity sought Japan and was not sought by the Japanese, but it is also true that the presence of hundreds of missionaries and the expenditure of scores of millions of dollars by foreign Churches upon the establishment of Christianity and Christian institutions in Japan during the last two generations offers a striking contrast to Japanese policy in every other line of development.

The Japanese are a sensitive, proud and exceedingly able people. Their early church leadership was drawn largely from the energetic Samurai class, and 70% of the membership of their churches consists of the middle-class folk of the cities. There is every reason to believe that had a rigid policy of self-help been instituted by the early missionaries, on the basis of a better understanding of Japanese

psychology and capacity, the Church in that land would to-day be on a self-supporting basis instead of being 50 per cent. dependent upon foreign aid.

One of the first missionaries of the American Board in the 'seventies' staked his career upon the principle of 100% self-support for the Japanese Church, and retired from the field because he was over-ruled by his colleagues on this principle. It is interesting to conjecture the possible outcome of the Spartan policy he advocated as applied to the Church, in the light of the Spartan qualities of the Japanese people and their subsequent development.

A few months ago the Moderator of the Japanese Kumiai Church (Congregational), which has been one of the most successful among the larger Christian groups in developing independent churches in Japan, said to me in conversation on this subject,—'The churches must feel the pride of being self-supporting. The habit of receiving help from the missions was early fixed in many of our churches and is difficult to overcome. It is a bad habit. The weakness of many churches in financial matters is partly due to the fact that the Samurai tradition disliked transactions with money.'

There are not a few churches in Japan to-day, that have been receiving mission subsidies for more than a generation, in which the second generation Christians have inherited an attitude of acquiescence in this policy from their fathers. Such churches are looked upon by non-Christians as foreign institutions and as in the leading-strings of foreigners; patriotic non-Christian Japanese either ignore or despise them, and the better placed families have nothing in common with them. These churches go on, decade after decade, like small encysted growths in the community.

Dependence upon alien money violates the most elemental principles of self-respect and patriotism and forfeits the esteem of better-class neighbours in an Oriental community. The acceptance of the foreign religion in itself condemns the new group of Christians in the estimate of patriots, but when the foreign religion is backed by foreign money, insult is added to injury, and the church tends to cut itself off from a

majority of the substantial people of the town,—the very people who could support it adequately and make it a power in the community.

A general characteristic of the membership of Christian churches in many towns and cities of the mission fields is the somewhat transient and detached nature of the membership. With rare exceptions, representatives of the old families, of landed and vested interests, of official or hereditary rights and privileges, do not ally themselves with the new faith. A large majority of those who have dared to follow Christ are people whose social, official or economic security have not been threatened by so doing and who are already detached to a certain extent from fixed local interests.

There are three groups from which the Church has principally been built up in the Asiatic fields. First, those who crave economic security,—whose position from the social and economic standpoint is near the bottom of the scale. Second, people such as teachers, doctors, minor civil servants and small officials who are loosely rooted and frequently transferred. And, third, those in mission employ, or connected with institutions inspired by the Christian movement. Thus we find a very small proportion of tradesmen, merchants, bankers, landowners and high officials in the Church. The large turnover of church members in Japan is due to the preponderance of the professional and civil servant class in the membership. In a flourishing city of 50,000 people in Central Japan, where Christianity has been preached for sixty years, a missionary said of his church, 'After thirty years our church has between 30 and 35 members. Few of them originally were city people; they are of the professional or small official class and a very transient type. In all these years we have not touched the real city people. There is a constant movement of the members which keeps all our churches very weak. In one church in a period of four years there were 110 accessions and 140 withdrawals. In another town church of 25 members all but 4 moved away in one year. How can we build up a self-supporting church under such conditions?' This small denomination has 25

churches in Japan, all in cities, and only seven of them are self-supporting.

The transient nature of the town church membership of Japan is characteristic of the churches of several other Asiatic countries. It is a factor that has a powerful bearing on the growth and permanence of the Church and the possibility of its sending its roots deep down into community life and receiving nourishment from it. The slow growth of the city church is intimately related to the psychology of the townspeople and their inherited social and cultural background. It calls for a far deeper understanding by the Church of the mentality of the community and the forces that motivate and inhibit the people in their attitudes towards the foreign-aided religion.

Another psychological factor bearing upon the growth of the Church is the increasing cultural, economic and political demands upon the time, attention and strength of the people of the expanding Asiatic nations. The cup of human interest is overflowing. Superimposed upon the inherited culture and folk ways is the structure of modern civilisation that penetrates with its multiple demands the remotest corners of the land. The modern Japanese, Chinese and Indians are living in two worlds and attempting to function in accordance with the requirements and sanctions of both. Over against the intricate pattern of the past with its network of obligations stands the new order, presenting a strange group of interests, opportunities and obligations. Societies, clubs, cultural amenities, patriotic and charitable appeals and other Western ways of life with higher standards of living all threaten to overwhelm the modern Asiatic in his attempts to meet life's obligations. A religion that is introduced from abroad, largely financed by aliens and demonstrated by weak, uninfluential groups of people, isolated from the community, receives short shrift from the citizen who is struggling to keep afloat on the full, swift-running stream of national life. The members of the Church, under such conditions, have difficulty, with all these insistent voices calling for their time, devotion and money, in giving full allegiance to their Church. This is particu-

larly true when they know that a foreign mission board is providing much of its support. It is natural that they yield themselves and their substance to the most insistent demands, under the comfortable feeling that New York or London will do the worrying and will provide for the Church; and if New York and London provide, then, in the last analysis, the enterprise belongs to New York and London more than to them.

Busy, overworked Christian officials and men of affairs in various parts of China before the present war in speaking of their lack of active connection with the Church said, 'We are Christians, but service to our country has taken the place of the Church in our lives. When we are working sixteen hours a day trying to save China and reconstruct her life, we have no time and strength left for the Church; the saving of our country tends to become our religion; if the Church will give a lead in the saving of China, socially, economically, politically and morally, Chinese youth will join the Church; they have no interest in a religion that calls one to listen each week to an often inept and dull sermon that speaks of heaven and has nothing to say or do about the injustices and ills of Chinese society, foreign aggression, opium and narcotics, social reconstruction and political corruption. When the Church has a constructive message on these things and demonstrates its conviction by courageous action we will come into the Church.' Extreme as is this point of view and blind as it is to the inner significance of the Church and the regenerating power of the Gospel of Christ, the psychology of nationalism is common among the educated youth of Asia to-day and is a tremendous trend with which to reckon. This psychology is emptying the churches of China not only of modern Christian youth but of many of the older 'intelligentsia' who call themselves Christians.

Another trend in the mental attitude of the Christian communities of Asia with which Christian leadership must deal is the question of the service of the Church to the community. This is a major question facing the Church in every field of the younger Christian lands, and it will be discussed here only from

its practical psychological aspect. An experienced Chinese Christian leader in South China in speaking of the problem, said, 'When a Chinese subscribes to a temple sacrifice or festival he knows that he will get a reasonable return for his money,—some of the food or decorations offered to the idols, and the social prestige that accrues to the advertising of his gift; but when he gives a dollar to the Church, it is gone,—gone either into a central pooled fund for general administration of a district, or to support a pastor who is getting three times his own income, or to help to educate the pastor's children, when his own boys go without schooling. The return from such an investment is so nebulous to the rural church member, living near the subsistence level, as to cause him to think carefully before offering his dollar.'

The function of the Church and of the Christian pastor in these Asiatic countries is strange to the people. The Church calls on them to give up the amenities and privileges of their old brotherhood and it is natural that they should ask what the new brotherhood offers in place of the old. The result in India as in China is that the convert functions in both brotherhoods. As an Indian Christian economist puts it, 'The Indian depressed class Christian is like a man sailing in two boats; he has one foot in each boat and shifts freely from one to the other according to the circumstances of the moment. . . . 99 % of his time he is immersed in the atmosphere of the old brotherhood, and fulfilling his economic and social obligations under it. How can he do otherwise when he is in the presence of the missionary or evangelist for but a hundredth part of his time?'

The Indian and Chinese Christian peasant has a right to expect that the Church which tells him to cut himself off from the old life will stand by him, not only with spiritual admonitions, but in helping him to establish a new foothold, a new society into which he can step from the other with some possibility of maintaining his position. If the Church cannot understand the mental attitude and the desperate predicament of the new convert and take concrete measures for meeting it, it cannot expect to hold the ground that it

gains. In wide areas the Church finds itself in the unenviable position of Moses,—it has led the children of Israel out of Egypt but is unable to take them into the Promised Land.

Missionary societies have supported their policy of continued financial aid of the Younger Churches by pointing to St. Paul's word to the churches of Galatia, 'Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ.' It is difficult to understand how this admonition of the apostle can be used without fully facing the implications of his further statement, '. . . for every man shall bear his own burden,' with which the former is closely related. It is the task of the Older Churches in consultation with the Younger to work out a balance between the implications of these two principles. Help once begun is difficult to refuse, whether in the case of the young person or the young Church. It deadens initiative and self-reliance in either case and if long continued is a sure way to limit the outlook and to weaken morale and development, for it eventually becomes rationalised into a necessity.

What individuals or groups of individuals want they can usually get, if the desire is sufficiently strong and their determination great. This truism has been proved on more than one mission field. A group of Christian Batak farmers in Sumatra a few years ago wished to present a tower clock as a Christmas gift to the church which they had built with their own hands. Only one public building in their province could boast a tower clock; neither this nor the fact that a clock would cost 200 *guilders*,[1] an amount equal to the annual salary that they were paying their pastor, deterred them. The whole community of extremely poor peasants became convinced of their absolute need of a tower clock. A public subscription raised 100 *guilders*, the clock was purchased and installed by Christmas Day and a note was given for the balance which was paid off during the year. This costly project was carried through by a community, financially no better placed than great numbers of Chinese and Indian Christian communities, because it was born of an overmastering desire of the people themselves and the discovery that by working together they

[1] 1 guilder equals approximately $·60 or 2s. 6d.

could do what they wished to do. A much larger Batak community decided that they must have a missionary to live among them. The Rhenish Mission promised them a missionary family but had no funds with which to build a suitable house. The Bataks agreed to provide the house and in one year raised 4000 *guilders* as a gift to the Mission, and thereupon got their man.

It is true that these incidents happened among a people who from near the outset of missionary activity among them had been thrown completely upon their own financial resources. Two and a half generations of the practice of self-help have trained them to act for themselves and have revealed the possibility of securing what they are determined to have. Although the Christian Church in a majority of the mission fields has been accustomed for generations to lean on the Church of the West for a large proportion of its undertakings, and this habit and mentality may be strong upon it, it is unthinkable that the Christians of the greatest nations of Asia, with their inheritances of high culture and attainment cannot match the achievements of this young Batak Church, only two and one half generations removed from animism and savagery.

In his *Christian Mass Movements in India* Pickett writes:

> 'Abject dependence, lack of ambition and initiative, carelessness, deceitfulness, extravagance, drunkenness, insolence and harshness are character weaknesses which many observers have found to be especially common among untouchables. . . . They may be traced to distorted reactions to oppression.' [1]

The depressed classes in India have, through the economic and social requirements of caste, been schooled for centuries in the habit of receiving rather than giving. Their lives depend to an extraordinary degree upon the gifts of their caste superiors. A free-will offering not dictated by the compulsion of social custom, by the fear of spirits, of public opinion or by the power of their caste *panchayats* is unknown among them. For this reason the Church brings into their lives an entirely new motivation for the use of their possessions.

[1] J. W. Pickett, *Christian Mass Movements in India*, pp. 83–84.

G. E. Phillips vividly describes the mentality of the depressed classes. He says:

'But it is not even the people's poverty which is the greatest difficulty; it is the disposition, already mentioned, to think of themselves as naturally dependent upon others, as surely as the creeper on its supporting tree, or the child upon its parents. This tendency has been engrafted in them for 1000 years, and is now a part of their very nature. The sense of pleasure which self-respecting men have in standing on their own feet is at first totally incomprehensible to pariahs. God made them, they think, to lean on others; if it were not so He would have created them in some other caste. Nothing annoys the missionary so much as the constant declaration by the village Christians that he is their father and their mother—a statement which is always the preface to some fresh appeal for help.' [1]

The services of the sweeper, in return for which he receives gifts from his superiors, are listed by Bhatty in his study of the Depressed Class Christians of the United Provinces, and reveal the central place that this habit of receiving has in their lives.

'... Those who perform the service of sweeping and removing rubbish from the houses of their *jajmans* [2] get some food daily from them. For service as midwife the sweeper woman receives for the birth of a boy one rupee, for a girl 4 to 6 annas. The balance of her payment is in grain or in clothes. Marriages in the family of their *jajmans* are looked forward to with eagerness. Sweepers get all the leavings from the feasts. . . . At festivals they receive food, clothes, raw sugar cane and *gur*. They receive 12 annas to Re.1 on the occasion of a death in the family of the *jajman* and they also get the strip of cloth, about 4 yds. in length, which covers the coffin when it is taken to the burning *ghat*. Feasts are a feature of the death rites and the sweeper gets the leavings. The ceremony of the thread investiture is another occasion when generous leavings from the feasts are given to the sweeper.' [3]

The depressed class worker asks as a suppliant for his remuneration and with hands placed together in front of

[1] G. E. Phillips, *The Outcaste's Hope*, p. 106.

[2] *Jajman*—employer or patron.

[3] Survey made by Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, United Provinces, India, under the direction of Prof. E. C. Bhatty, M.A.

his bowed head receives whatever his *zamindar* or *jajman* deigns to give. His life and that of uncounted generations of ancestors has been schooled in the mentality of the inferior receiving from the superior. It is not surprising to find that the psychology of the recipient is carried over into the new relation of the depressed classes with the mission. Typical of this psychology is a recent incident at Hinganghat, in the Central Provinces, where a group of seventy depressed class Christians who were baptised in December 1936 asked as a first question, 'What is the mission going to do to help us?' After fifteen months the spiritual growth of this new Christian group is temporarily at a standstill because of their natural disappointment in finding that their request for the free education of their children—a privilege enjoyed in former years by depressed class Christians of their acquaintance—cannot be granted by the mission. In some way these people must be helped to turn their attention from their own personal needs to objectives greater than themselves, and through community projects and corporate enterprises be taught the joy of service and of giving themselves and their substance, small though that may be, in serving their own or some other needier community.

J. C. Heinrich finds that the three chief manifestations of the psychology of the depressed class individual are a direct reaction of resentment, a concealment reaction and an indirect reaction which finds its most usual expression in the desire to humiliate others and to assert his own superiority [1] In a discussion of methods by which the suppressed energy of the sweeper may be released for creative action, Heinrich describes church projects—evangelistic and Bible-selling bands—in which the sweeper Christians were enlisted and the effect of such work upon their morale. He says:

'One of the indications that a cure was under way was the new self-assertion noticeable in all these groups. They were more outspoken, more difficult to handle, less prone to conceal their real or fancied resentments. The expectation that they give for the

[1] J. C. Heinrich, *The Psychology of a Suppressed People.*

support of their religious service like Christian gentlemen rather than like sweepers produced a response, albeit only a beginning of the re-education process.' [1]

'The emotional power back of the abnormal craving for superiority latent in the depressed class group, when it becomes socialised, is a real reinforcement of power and achievement. The highest aim of Mission policy should be to keep out of the way anything that will hinder or thwart its social expression. Any form of organisation that is not open to effective criticism by responsible National leaders is a handicap to spiritual fellowship too heavy to be borne. Criticism that finds no effective channel of expression tends to produce an apparent unresponsiveness that conceals resentment. This emotional reaction often results in disorder and disintegration of personality. The tendency toward the formation on the field of single organisations of control with Nationals dominant needs desperately to be speeded up.' [2]

It may be questioned whether the Church in Japan has fully considered some of the deepest Japanese motivations in presenting the claims of Christ to the individual. A thousand years of feudalism has had a profound influence on Japanese society. It is impossible for the West, which is six hundred years removed from a somewhat similar system, to understand the psychology of the Japanese without reference to the feudal way of life. Feudalism in Japan was in full operation until seventy-eight years ago. There are men still living who can remember the feudal courts of their Princes. Feudalism was the womb in which the Japanese race was moulded. It gave to every man,—soldier, priest, peasant, artisan and beggar—his place in the social structure and a conventional outlook upon life. At the top was the feudal lord, supported by retainers and vassals each with his defined responsibilities and privileges. In return for loyal service the Prince was pledged to the welfare of his vassals. The life-line of the system was reciprocal loyalty,—defence without—support within; the clan was like a huge mutual protection society.

[1] J. C. Heinrich, *The Psychology of a Suppressed People*, 126.
[2] *Ibid.*, 144.

To put the stranger at a disadvantage, to force him to display his cards and to conceal one's own hand, was the philosophy of Japanese society. Born of this philosophy was the architecture of the feudal castles with their two-way bridges over encircling moats. The construction of the houses of the Samurai, to which entrance was gained by means of a four-foot panel in the massive gate, the guards' and servants' quarters at the entrance obstructing access to the master's living-rooms which were placed at the rear of the establishment, reflected the same defence mentality. The indirect syntax, the double negative taking the place of an affirmative verb, the conventional dress, meticulous code of manners, the ceremonial approach to the simplest acts of daily life, the rigid technique in meeting friends as well as strangers, all point to an era in which every man was a potential enemy until proven a friend and when a slip of the tongue or an unguarded facial expression might lead to the betrayal of the feudal lord. With the liquidation of the feudal system, the Samurai class, now masterless men steeped in the feudal tradition, provided many of the first Christian leaders of Japan. Here was fine material with which to build the Church of Christ, for these unattached men found in Christ the new Lord to whom they gave their complete allegiance. Many were the struggles for adjustment and supremacy between the mental processes and outlook of missionaries trained in the concepts of New England Puritanism and the high-spirited, feudal-minded leaders of the infant Church in Japan.

Some of the strongest potential Christian leaders of Asia have been alienated from the Church by a disregard of these inner motivations. Uchimura Kanzo, a brilliant mission-trained student and preacher of Japan, early in his career cut loose from relations with the mission-assisted Church and launched out upon an independent religious career. Endowed with Samurai heritage and lofty mental and spiritual gifts, Uchimura soon attracted to himself a circle of people of ability and influence which became the nucleus of an independent Christian church in the capital of Japan. A fiery orator and patriot, he used his gifts in bringing a saving

knowledge of Christ to many well-placed Japanese in business and official circles. His work attracted the attention of high Court officials and during the last years of his life he was occasionally called to the Imperial Palace to explain the Bible to members of the Imperial household. Added to his personal power was his ability to present Christianity as a Japanese faith, untouched by the suspicion of missionary influence or money. There are numbers of the finest nationals in every Asiatic country who would follow an Uchimura Kanzo but who do not open their hearts to a Christian worker, supported by foreign influence and money. Among Uchimura's bitter criticisms of missionaries was the stricture that they did not understand the Japanese mind, and that they imparted an alien type of Christianity which was weak in its appeal to the Japanese heart.

During the last decade in China there has appeared a new type of Christian leadership that has a powerful appeal to Chinese psychology. A group of evangelists, unrelated to any mission or organised church has been going up and down China calling the people, both Christians and non-Christians, to repent of their sins and to turn to Christ. The response of the Chinese to these modern 'John the Baptists' has been remarkable. Most of these men were mission-trained preachers and evangelists, but have severed their relations with the foreign workers. A secret of their power is their intimate knowledge of the Chinese mind and heart and their skill in playing on these objectives. An amazing result of this national Christian approach is the effect of their message upon the pocket-books of the Chinese. Large sums of money for the maintenance of these expensive campaigns are raised with comparative ease from the same Chinese Christians who have difficulty in supporting their own churches.

Happily there is evidence of a growing understanding by missionaries of the mind and inheritance of their people. The School for Girls of the London Missionary Society at Mbereshi, Northern Rhodesia, has been successful in seeking to ally Bantu custom with its educational programme. The

framework of tribal society has been retained ; older girls are appointed as 'house mothers' to care for the little ones ; in games, music, and dancing the best has been selected from African folklore ; in the school chapel African postures signifying respect and honour are used,—life in all its aspects is related to the central theme, Jesus Christ, the 'Great Chief' of the tribe. Miss Mabel Shaw, the Principal, in speaking of the incident which was a turning point in the history of the school, said, 'A group of my girls came to me saying they had a confession to make ; for seven years they had secretly been taking the little girls to the river and in the shade of a great tree had been instructing them in heathen initiation rites. They had come to ask my forgiveness.' Miss Shaw asked them why they had begun to feel it was wrong. They replied 'When we are in school we are in God's bright sunlight, but under that tree we go into the darkness.' When Miss Shaw told them that all through the years she had known of this practice, they cried out in astonishment, 'Then why didn't you tell us it was wrong ?' 'Ah !' came the reply, 'but I was not sure that you were doing wrong. Your parents and your grandparents had taught you these things,—it was not for me to condemn them. I knew that if I waited long enough God would tell you whether you were doing right or wrong.' This rare insight, patience and trust in her pupils has been rewarded not only by the deep devotion of two hundred girls to their Principal and to the Christian way of life, but also by the response from numbers of heathen parents who bring their daughters to 'Mama Shaw' asking her to prepare them for womanhood in the Christian manner.

To those who are trying to develop the Younger Churches a clear call comes to explore systematically the sources of motivation to action, the inhibitions and the elements of strong appeal in the people among whom they work ; those factors that make an Indian think and act as an Indian and not as an Englishman ; those inheritances and ideologies that cause a Japanese to behave as a son of Nippon, rather than as an American. When these mainsprings of power are better

understood and used in the national Christian movements of Asia, we may expect them to accomplish what has been considered impossible when measured by Western assumptions of the limitations and capacities of these incalculably potential peoples.

CHAPTER V

Obstacles to Self-support

Economic Weakness of the Christian Community

THE first and most obvious handicap to the development of self-supporting churches in the countries of Asia is the economic weakness of the Christian community. An overwhelming majority of church members in nearly all these countries belong to the rural classes, people who are wresting a bare living from the soil. Even among the churches which may be classed as urban the financially well-placed members are rare. A discussion of the comparative wage scales, living standards and economic strength of the peasants of the chief Asiastic nations would be of interest, but the results of such a comparison would be inconclusive because of the different purchasing power of silver and gold and the varying standards of living as between countries. It is probable that the Chinese or Indian labourer, who are paid respectively 15 cents Mex. and 6 annas a day, enjoy a greater relative purchasing power with these wages than the Japanese farm labourer with his 50 *sen*, despite the fact that the latter wage represents twice the intrinsic value of the former.

A tragic circumstance common to the farmer in all Eastern lands is that he and his occupation form the base of the pyramid of the national economic structure. Upon this base to a large degree the life of the nation rests. General wages, the cost of living, the prices of exported goods and the power of import are fixed by the cost of the products of agriculture and the price at which the farmer sells his labour. The economic pressure upon the agriculturalist is relentless, for the personal interests of all the other classes of the population, and especially those of the great industrialists and exporters, combine to hold him down to near the subsistence level. The amazing rise of Japanese industry and the expansion of her export

trade in the world markets is due in large degree to the submission of her farmers to such low prices for produce and labour as in turn enables the army of industrial workers to maintain a standard of living and wages so low that the Japanese factories and mills can undersell those of every other nation.

'Although an urban proletariat is gradually emerging in Japan, the national standard of living is still a peasant standard, and as M. Maurette has observed in his report on labour conditions in Japan to the International Labour Office, the standard of wages in Japan bases itself upon the peasant's income. . . . However disastrous this combination of circumstances (fall in price of rice and of raw silk) may have been to the Japanese farmer, it at least greatly favoured the exporter . . . for rural depression has been the means of lowering substantially the cost of unskilled and semi-skilled labour. Similarly the fall in agrarian prices itself directly constituted to some extent a condition essential to the success of Japan's export activity . . .' [1]

Other general economic factors contributing to the depressed economic condition of the farmers of Asia need no more than be mentioned; viz. the overproduction following the World War of many staple products, such as cotton, rubber, coffee, tea, copra, sugar and tobacco; the trend among many nations to be self-contained in production; the consequent raising of impossible tariff walls; the susceptibility of the Oriental farmer to climatic changes and his inability to tide over disastrous seasons; the universal suffering of the tenant farmer from the absence of modern laws governing tenancy; and, finally, the increase in the cultural and economic wants of the rural areas of the world because of the growth of literacy and facilities for transportation. Some 80 % of the Christians of Asia are struggling with these adverse conditions. Under such circumstances and limitations the Church of Christ in this vast continent must be built. The fact that great independent churches,—such as the Church of Korea, the Batak Church of Sumatra and the Karen Church of Burma, have emerged in

[1] G. E. Hubbard, *Eastern Industrialisation and its Effect upon the West*, pp. 164–166. Oxford University Press. 1935.

face of these difficulties, furnishes indisputable proof that the rural churches in Asia can achieve a high degree of financial independence in spite of the severest handicaps.

Obligations of the Environment

The Asiatic who becomes a Christian is a product of his environment. His inheritance has been shaped by uncounted generations of society whose experience, aspirations and beliefs have been embodied in a particular way of life. He finds himself a unit in an intricate maze of obligations and loyalties. Many of these inhere in the family of which he is a member; others relate to the village, clan or caste brotherhood. Still other obligations pertain to religious beliefs and practices, fears and superstitions, and the methods by which the community has built up its security with respect to the spirit world.

Security is the key to the institutions of Asiatic society, as, indeed, it is a key to human behaviour everywhere. But security, to be effective, requires a rigid code of behaviour and in its achievement each member of society pays a fixed and recognised price. The older the social order, the more rigid this code of security becomes, the more delicate the equilibrium of society and the more shattering the effect of withdrawing the loyalties which maintain the social balance.

The teachings of Christ appear in the nature of a high explosive laid at the foundations of Asiatic society. To place love and honour of parents as of secondary importance to love of God is to the Chinese a shocking impiety, for it undermines their most sacred life obligation and with it the cornerstone on which the solidarity and security of society rest. The Poor Houses and Old People's Homes of the Christian West are to the Oriental evidence of the disregard of the most basic of human and religious obligations. Similarly the injunction to chastity and the guarding of the sanctity of marriage may run counter to the obligation of every family to provide a male issue to ensure an unbroken family line. Here the security and continuity of the family take precedence over every personal consideration. Among peoples who identify the ruler of the nation as one with the divine progenitors of the race and who

identify the act of worship with that of loyal respect towards their sovereign, Christianity threatens the security of the State. The villager is expected to do his share in the upkeep of the local shrine and to partake in feasts and sacrifices to them as a measure of security for the community. The local holy men and *fakirs* who are in a controlling relationship with the world of evil spirits are objects of generous support, for they have power over sickness, drought and many minor misfortunes.

In certain villages in the Punjab and the United Provinces of India, College surveys have shown that many Christian families are giving to the Mohammedan *pir* or holy man from two to five times the stipend of wheat or cash they contribute to the support of their own pastor. It is clear that the motive behind this striking disparity of gifts is that of security; not so much the lingering fear of evil spirits as the desire to keep the good will of a man who has great power in the Mohammedan community. The cost of community feasts and the fines imposed by the village *panchayat* are among the many financial obligations of membership in the caste brotherhood. The Christian convert cannot refuse to meet these obligations so long as he remains in the brotherhood of the community, for they are the basis of his security. 'The *panchayats*, or governing boards of the caste groups in a village, not only exercise a rigid control over the social and economic life of their members, but they have endeavoured to exercise an unbreakable solidarity within their respective groups, to free themselves from corruption which threatened to undermine them from within and to protect themselves from all infringement of economic rights and privileges enjoyed by them.' [1] For a person to be excommunicated from the brotherhood means not only social ostracism but it threatens his existence as an economic unit in the community, since it takes away his only protector and guarantor of security. It is not surprising that under the pressure of these immensely powerful incentives a large majority of the rural Christians in the United Provinces have continued

[1] Survey made by Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, United Provinces, India, under the direction of Prof. E. C. Bhatty, M.A.

within the brotherhood and remain under the control of the *panchayats*. Bhatty states:

'We firmly believe that the (Christian) groups in the villages have the power to give and the willingness to give. . . . Their obligations under the *panchayat*, in the shape of annual contributions, special levies and fines, amount on an average, per family, to about Rs.5 annually. The fines are paid without the least hesitation. This is one of the main reasons why they cannot fulfil their financial obligations to the Church; there is a leakage of their income to causes which are not Christian. At the same time it must be remembered that they pay for services rendered which can be as well rendered by a Christian *panchayat*.' [1]

When it is considered that the average contribution to the Church by the Christian families in Northern India is well under Re.1 per year, we have striking evidence of the relation of the security of the individual in the community to the problem of Church support.

We have seen that the adherence of the Asiatic convert to Christianity tends to threaten his security in many spheres of his life, including his family, community, and political and economic relationships. These severally and collectively present a formidable barrier to his full allegiance to the Church and his participation in its financial support.

Lavish Expenditure

A serious obstacle to the attainment of self-support by the rural church in several of the countries of Asia is the lavish expenditure upon social ceremonies and family celebrations,—an expenditure out of all proportion to the people's economic ability. In India the marriage of a son or daughter is an occasion upon which all consideration of economy or of cutting the garment of expenditure according to the cloth of income is thrown to the winds. In the case of the marriage of a son, the cost to his family is greatly increased by the customary bride price or wedding gift paid to the parents of the bride. The cost of such wedding ceremonies, even among

[1] Survey made by Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, United Provinces, India, under the direction of Prof. E. C. Bhatty, M.A.

the poorest classes of society, often runs to a figure in excess of the earning capacity of an entire family for a whole year. Surveys reveal the fact that the poorer the family the greater is the discrepancy between income and expenditure. The India College Research Studies of the economic and social environment of the Church present important findings upon this subject. Speaking of marriage expenditure among the depressed class Christians, the Parayas and Cheremas, of Travancore and Cochin, P. C. Joseph states :

'Christians celebrate marriages in the months of May and June, i.e. immediately after the harvest. According to Hindu custom, festivities continue for four days, but (with the Christians) now only last one day. However, the amount spent is out of all proportion to the slender resources of the community. All members of the parish are expected to contribute according to their ability. Half of the total expenditure is met by the bridal party and half by members of the parish. Each householder has to give the father of the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, either rice or cash equivalent to about Rs.3. Normally a Cherema is this season has to contribute to at least ten marriages and thus practically the whole amount he has earned in the harvest is spent. If he fails to meet this obligation he loses self-respect and standing in the community. Frequently by the end of June when the season is very slack, the labourers are without any resources, and unless they indenture their services for the next year they find it impossible to keep the wolf from the door in the rainy season.' [1]

The same study describes the burden of marriage customs among the Christian Ilavas of Travancore :

'Adoption of the dowry system has spelled ruin to many families. Dowries are always paid in cash and very few parents can afford to gather enough money for them unless they mortgage their land. In several villages it was found that very few people were able to keep their houses for more than a generation,—most of them being sold to provide dowry for the girls. At Puthupally it is reported that more than 50% of the parishioners have actually sold their

[1] Survey made by C.M.S. College, Kottayam, and Union Christian College, Alwaye, Travancore, under the direction of Prof. P. C. Joseph, M.A., B.L.

holdings to the non-Christian Ilavas of the locality during the last twenty-five years to provide dowry for the girls and to meet the marriage expenses. A community like this can ill afford to take on the burden of supporting the Church. Very few people can afford to pay more than one rupee per year to the Church.'[1]

The basic wage for the common field labour in this part of India is the lowest recorded in any of the college studies. In North Travancore and Cochin the rural male worker receives 4 annas[2] for a day's labour and women receive 3 annas. In Central Travancore a man gets 5 annas. However, this society is saddled with a burden of supporting social customs equal to that of far more prosperous groups. This is due in large part to the emulation of the prosperous Syrian Christian community who set impossible standards for the depressed classes.

In the study[3] of the budgets of 58 Christian field labourers of Pasrur in the Sialkot District, Punjab, it was found that of the total annual expenditure of Rs.156-2, an average of Rs.14-8 was spent annually upon marriages, as against Rs.6-3 on all other social expenses and Re.1-14 for religious purposes. In the Christian village of Narowal in the same district a study of the budgets of 37 Christian labourers revealed the fact that, out of the total annual expenditure of Rs.153, Rs.119-13 was spent on living necessities ; of the remaining Rs.33-3, as much as Rs.8-10 was spent on the average for weddings, Rs.4 on all other social expenses and Re.1 for religion. A large part of the expense in marriages is incurred in the purchase of brides. The average price of brides is Rs.200, and for the very poor Rs.100. The reasons for this general custom in rural communities are, first, the surplus of males over females. The 1931 census enumerates 6,793 more males than females among the 66,365 Christians of the Sialkot district. The poverty of a majority of families, the greed of many parents and the need of ready cash to pay off debts are other reasons for the prevalence

[1] Survey made by C.M.S. College, Kottayam, and Union Christian College, Alwaye, Travancore, under the direction of Prof. P. C. Joseph, M.A., B.L.

[2] 4½d. sterling or 9 cents U.S.

[3] E. D. Lucas and Thakur Das, *The Rural Church in the Punjab*.

of the bride price. The majority of Christians are involved in this custom which has the sanction of public opinion and is extremely difficult to change.

In discussing the factor of marriage expense in the economic life of an Indian peasant family, E. D. Lucas [1] states :

'In this custom there is evidence of :

(*a*) Social pride. A unique sensitiveness is displayed by all members of the group to all adverse remarks made on this occasion.

(*b*) The usual tendency to try to outdo each other in the grandeur of detail, often regardless of expenditure involved.

(*c*) A false confidence or trust in paying back speedily money borrowed at that time.

(*d*) The necessity enforced by general practices now adopted by the majority.

An old Christian in the Narowal area expressed himself vehemently on this point : " Though we are poor yet we marry our sons and daughters in a manner that would bring credit to us. . . . Even if we cannot afford, we *must* spend."

'Generally speaking, the practice of the sale of brides is found to enforce a compulsory borrowing, since the respect of the boy's family depends upon the extent to which it can meet the financial obligations imposed on them by the girl's parents. The idea of being lowered in the eyes of the *biradari* is a stronger coercive factor than the consequent difficulties of future living.

'The number of debts incurred on account of marriages alone, and the amount spent on the occasion, gives us enough evidence of the extravagance and waste involved. . . . Roughly speaking, the amount given for the bride forms as much as 50% of the total spent on the marriage occasion. The average amount spent on any marriage could be curtailed by 45% to 55% if the practice were abolished or abandoned altogether.

'The marriage account given by a comparatively poor man is as follows :

	Rs.
Bride	100
Jewellery	61

[1] E. D. Lucas, D.D., Ph.D. of Forman Christian College, Lahore.

	Rs.
Bride's dress	10
Music	5
Money (thrown coins)	2
Pastor	5
Illuminations and fireworks . . .	4
Miscellaneous (including the amount given to servants	30
Total . .	217

A study [1] of thirteen Christian villages in Barisal and other neighbouring districts in Bengal shows the average annual income of the families is Rs.144-9, but that the average annual expenditure of these families amounts to Rs. 178, leaving an annual average deficit per family of Rs.33-7. A principal cause of this deficit is given as costly marriages and extravagant expenditure.

In the study of the social and economic environment of the Indian Christian population of Bombay [2] it was found that among the large group of Christian labourers, 78% of whom are in debt, the cost of marriages heads the list, constituting 39% of the causes reported as inducing debt.

In ten Bhil Christian families the average cost of weddings was found to be Rs.136-1, while the average annual income of the same families was reported to be Rs.138-7.[3]

A study of the economic condition of the members of Christian churches in Bangalore City [4] brings out the fact that the 4772 church members with an average monthly salary of Rs.31-5 spend up to Rs.200 for weddings. '. . . From most of the parishes investigated it is admitted that many Christians are living beyond their means.'

Extravagant expenditure is also a major cause of the widespread indebtedness that burdens the Chinese Christian.

[1] Survey made by Serampore Theological College.

[2] Survey made by Wilson College, Bombay, under the direction of Rev. J. Kellock, M.A., B.D.

[3] Survey made by Indore Christian College, under the direction of Prof. P. R. Langar, M.A.

[4] Survey made by Bangalore United Theological College.

This is especially connected with the observance of the celebrations which are fostered by the intense loyalty of the family system. The average cost of a wedding, funeral or dowry is more than the earnings of a day labourer for a whole year, and the combined income of an entire farm family for four months is needed to pay for a wedding.

'When we consider that the average farm income is not over \$400 C.N.C.[1] per year we see the huge burden which these family events put upon Chinese farmers.' [2]

'H. Brian Low in his study of 15,316 Chinese farms in 144 counties computes the average cost of special family events in Chinese currency as follows:

	\$
Weddings	127 C.N.C.
Funerals	102
Dowries.	96
Birthdays	63
Birth of sons	30' [3]

Indebtedness

Indebtedness is a condition that attaches itself more generally to the farmers of Asia and is carried on the whole with greater equanimity by them than by any other group of society. This is probably due to the fact that the occupation of the farmer is subject to the vicissitudes of seasons and markets which leave him in times of crisis with no option but to seek help from the money-lender. His seasonal crops and the immobility of his land make the farmer, in the long run, the best financial risk of all the members of the community. Whether it is the Chinese farmer ploughing in the mud of the Yangtze Valley, the Japanese peasant tending his rice fields and mulberry trees, the Filipino *peon*, the Javanese sugar-grower or the Indian Chamar, debt seems to be accepted as the normal lot of a very large proportion of the rural classes of Asia. The most extreme example of the bondage which debt places upon a community which has come to my attention is in Central

[1] £26, 12s. sterling or \$133.00 U.S.
[2] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in China.*
[3] Lossing Buck, *Land Utilisation in China*, p. 468.

Szechuan, China, where in certain districts the produce of farms has been mortgaged to money-lenders for forty years in advance.

'"Marginal farmers" best describes the financial condition of the people of China. When a crop is poor or fails the family suddenly falls below the subsistence level. Only one farmer in five has any savings. Communications for moving foodstuffs are poor. The cost of hauling freight on the railway is \$2.19 [1] (U.S. currency) per ton mile as compared with 94 cents [2] in the United States and 77 cents [3] in Japan. 39% of the farmers are in debt and the average rate of interest is 32% per year.' [4]

'Living even in times of comparative prosperity with scarcely any margin of income above the barest subsistence level, the Japanese farmer has scarcely any reserves upon which to fall back in the day of adversity.' [5]

'Among the total 670 farm families investigated, the average monthly income per family is hardly sufficient to cover the monthly expenditure. In the calculation of the income from agriculture, the average deficit is ¥ 34.82 per month, so that the average farmer has to rely to a very large extent upon other incomes than those derived from farming for the financial needs of his household.' [6]

Ryoichi Ishii states that from the annual investigations in farmers' economy conducted by the Bureau of Agriculture since 1921, it is estimated that the debt upon the 5,575,734 farms of Japan totals (1928), 4,365 million yen,[7] or an average debt of 738 yen per farm. The rate of interest on such debts is usually more than 10% per annum.[8]

According to the Government Bureau of Statistics, Tokyo, 'the weighted average monthly deficit of Japanese farmers cultivating less than 1·2 *cho* amounts to 2·58 yen and a farmer with less than an average of 2·5 *cho* cannot obtain a liberal

[1] 9s. sterling. [2] 4s. sterling. [3] 3s. 2d. sterling.

[4] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in China*.

[5] G. E. Hubbard, *Eastern Industrialisation and its Effect on the West*, p. 164.

[6] Nasu, *Land Utilisation in Japan*, I.P.R., 1929, p. 197.

[7] 1s. 3d. sterling; 29 cents (U.S.).

[8] R. Ishii, *Population Pressure and Economic Life in Japan*. London, 1937.

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standard of farm life.'[1] Since the average size of the Japanese farm is 1·06 *cho* (1 *cho* approximates 2·45 acres or 1 hectare), it may readily be seen to what an extent agriculture in Japan constitutes a 'deficit economy'.

It is probable, however, that in no part of the Far East is the condition of indebtedness more universal in extent and devastating in effect than among the sixty millions of the depressed classes of India. 'A debt is considered to be a certificate of character, a proof that someone in the community trusts the debtor sufficiently to risk money on him. Another factor is that the debtor needs protection and this the creditor will supply, if only from motives of self-interest.'[2] This statement finds a parallel in the experience of the Chinese farmer.

The plight of the Indian peasant is due to a formidable list of causes. First of all is the fact that agriculture as carried on by the average farmer may be said to be 'a deficit economy'.[3] Between the fragmentation of his land, high taxes, exorbitant rents, depreciation in value of crops, bad marketing, droughts, insect pests, improvident habits, high rates of interest, lack of business experience and heavy social expenses, the farmer lives a precarious existence. He has not been trained to lay aside any surplus, or to invest his savings in directions from which he can realise cash for emergencies. He is prone to take the line of least resistance in times of financial crisis, such as a failure of crops, a marriage in his family or a fine imposed by his *panchayat*, and to negotiate a loan by mortgaging his land or by pledging a part or all of the proceeds of next season's harvest.

Pickett has shown that the *per capita* annual incomes of

[1] *Abstract of Labour Statistics*, 1932, p. 322.

The manifest discrepancy between the deficit estimates given by Nasu and the *Abstract of Labour Statistics* is due to the exclusion by Nasu of the earnings from subsidiary occupations of the farmer, such as sericulture. These are included in the *Abstract*.

[2] E. D. Lucas and Thakur Das, *The Rural Church in the Punjab*, p. 17. Quotation from the Whitley Royal Commission on Indian Labour (1929).

[3] Survey made by the American College, Madura, under the direction of Prof. J. S. Ponniah, M.A.

3,744 families investigated in ten different parts of India, range from Rs.21-6 to Rs.44-5, with an average of Rs.33-9, and that 69·5% of heads of families are in debt, with an average indebtedness of Rs.185 per family.[1]

Lucas and Thakur Das in their study of 58 families of field labourers in Pasrur village, Punjab, and 37 families of Narowal, Punjab, find the average *per capita* annual income to be Rs.28-6 and Rs. 24-8 respectively, and the average *per capita* debt of the same families Rs.35-4 and Rs.35-4. Of the 105 Christian families in Pasrur area, 86, or a percentage of 81·9 are in debt, and in the Narowal area there is a still higher percentage, amounting to 92·5. The average debt per family in the Pasrur area is Rs.201-12, as compared with an average annual family income of Rs.126-6. In Narowal a similar comparison reveals an average family debt of Rs.185, with an annual income of Rs.124-4. Marriage is the principal occasion for heavy borrowing. Of the total number of loans in the Pasrur area 57·7% are on this account. However, the average loan on the occasion of marriage is now Rs.162, as compared with Rs.259-3 in the previous decade,—giving roughly a decrease of 37% during the ten-year period in the average loan incurred for the marriage ceremony.[2]

The study made by the American College, Madura, of Christians in the Tinnevelly area, shows a distinct correlation between illiteracy and debt. The incidence of indebtedness among Christian families definitely falls as literacy rises. This is in marked contrast to the Hindu community in which the same increase of literacy is not accompanied by a decrease of debt. This is a striking tribute to the effect of education upon the economic power of the Christian community. Ponniah, in commenting upon the causes of debt, says:

'The present type of organisation in agriculture, the subdivision of holdings, with their adverse effects upon efficient farming and marketing methods, the securing of credit and the "unchecked

[1] J. W. Pickett, *Christian Mass Movements in India*, pp. 93 and 98.
[2] E. D. Lucas and Thakur Das, *The Rural Church in the Punjab*.

liberty" to mortgage land and borrow money, may be primary causes for this unfortunate condition.'[1]

Lucas' remarks upon the subject of indebtedness are illuminating:

'The indebtedness of the Indian peasantry is proverbial. To it is traced the chief cause of their economic demoralisation. The considerable increase in the extent of indebtedness from year to year speaks for the seriousness of the situation. This fact attracts the anxious interest of the various Provincial and Central Governments. The causes of indebtedness are too well known to be noted in detail; briefly, they may be summarised as due to:

(*a*) The smallness of holdings and their fragmentation, combined with the vagaries of climate and the occasional onslaught of disease and pestilence keep the average farmer near the poverty line in the dull, unstable routine of subsistence farming.

(*b*) The constantly recurring loss of cattle, either through disease or negligence, the semi-pastoral system of farming adding to the loss.

(*c*) The ingrained improvidence of the peasant, aggravated by the insecurity of cropping in this area.

(*d*) Extravagant expenditure on jewellery and on social occasions, like marriages, funerals, religious festivals and pilgrimages, on litigation and other unproductive purposes.

(*e*) Facilities for borrowing—the clever money-lender encourages the ignorant peasant by making credit easily available.

(*f*) The custom of the transference of the burden of unpaid debt, on the death of the father, to the son.

(*g*) A quirk in the psychology of the peasant, causing him to regard his ability to incur a large debt as a compliment to his social status.

'The percentage of indebtedness varies not only from Province to Province, but also from district to district in each Province. Sufficient to say that debt per cultivated acre in this Province (Punjab) has increased from Rs.31 in 1921 to Rs.45 in 1929.

[1] Survey made by the American College, Madura, under the direction of Prof. J. S. Ponniah, M.A.

'While the peasant proprietor and land-owning class have received some measure of legal protection against the power of the money-lenders, the agricultural labourer has not benefited in the least by these measures, and is still as exposed to the evils of indebtedness as before. Strongly imitative of the higher castes, the artisan and the menial belonging to the lower and out-castes have adopted to a remarkable degree of exactness the thoughts, manners and customs of their employers. The whole hierarchy of castes exhibit the same habits and social customs, without much regard to religious differences. The indebtedness of the village Christian menials arises out of the same factors as that of the more protected non-Christian *zamindars*.[1]

'What makes the situation so serious is that much of the debt in India is incurred for unproductive purposes. The Report of the Punjab Banking Inquiry Committee finds that in the Punjab only 5% of the debt was incurred for land improvements, the balance being incurred largely in payment of compound interest and extravagant expenditures such as marriage festivities, lawsuits, etc. Darling estimates that in the Punjab from 33 to 50% of the debt is due to compound interest alone.

'A large percentage of those in debt are inextricably involved and can never hope on their own resources to go free. They are perpetually in the grip of the money-lenders and, after handing over to them most of what they produce, live on the small balance left for their sustenance. The payment of prior debt is the largest single item of new indebtedness, and an analysis of this item shows this to consist largely of *compound interest* and not a substantial reduction of the principal. Furthermore, an important part of the debt of the average individual is inherited and is otherwise due to chicanery on the part of the money-lender.'[2]

Ignorance of Practical Business Management

Another source of poverty and economic weakness among the rural Christian population is the absence of training in the management of their own affairs, in saving, marketing crops, and in buying and securing loans. Coupled with these factors is the lack of initiative and the widespread indifference

[1] E. D. Lucas and Thakur Das, *The Rural Church in the Punjab*, pp. 38–39.

[2] J. L. Hypes, *Fact Finding Commission*, vol. ii. pp. 80–81.

among the depressed classes, due to the hopelessness and helplessness of their position. The Royal Commission on Labour in India (1929) in speaking of the possibility of reconstruction of the peasant's attitude toward debt states :

'The most powerful incentive to good work for the majority of mankind is the prospect of securing a better livelihood; for too many Indian workers there can be no such prospect. . . . Indebtedness in the village Christian community has done even more damage than that reported by the Labour Commission as true of the city worker. Most of these families are left with no experience in the constructive spending of money. . . . To extricate the depressed class villager from his debts is only a slight help unless accompanied by service that effects changes in him, so that he will use the funds released for constructive purposes and will not plunge in as deeply again.' [1]

In describing the economic disabilities of the palm tapper of the Nadars of South India, Ponniah records :

'These people have an age-long habit of spending away every day what they have earned without any thought for the morrow. Tappers have to pay the landlord about 60% of their earnings. Such people are therefore perpetually indebted to the landlord on one side and the *jaggery* [2] merchant on the other. . . . In 95% of the cases of these tappers their occupation, taken by itself, leaves them a small surplus, but owing to their ignorance and improvidence, their interest payments on their borrowings convert their surplus into deficits. As interest is in the majority of cases very high, it constitutes in itself a cause of further indebtedness. . . . The weakest spot in the system of marketing the *jaggery* is the ignorance and improvidence of the tappers in selling their product to the local storekeeper or the itinerant buyer almost every day, or every time they feel the pinch for a little money. Therefore they sell at low prices and not infrequently are defrauded in weight. It is necessary for the tappers to hold up their *jaggery* and sell it at favourable prices. This can be done by linking up community credit with marketing.' [3]

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[1] Royal Commission on Labour in India (1929–30).

[2] *Jaggery* is the product of the tapped palmyra tree.

[3] Survey made by the American College, Madura, under the direction of Prof. J. S. Ponniah, M.A.

There follows an interesting discussion of the helplessness of this community of palm-tree tappers in the matter of interest charges upom loans.

'They fall into the clutches of *marwari* money-lenders, who roam about the countryside and loan not more than from one to five rupees to a single person on the *shandy* or market day when the tapper has to buy provisions. The loan is made on the condition that the amount is repaid with an interest rate of 2 annas per rupee per week. The *marwaris* carefully collect the interest each week and it works out at the rate of 600% per annum.' [1]

The vicious circle created by the immobility of labour, the lack of movement from one grade of labour to another and from one place to another is described by Joseph in the study of the economic and social conditions of the depressed classes among the Syrian Christians of Travancore, together with the low economic position which is induced by this immobility.

'The depressed class labourers are timid by nature, reluctant to leave their traditional moorings. A journey of ten or twelve miles is regarded as an achievement. Timidity and ignorance prevent them from leaving their own villages and seeking work elsewhere. There is neither vertical nor horizontal mobility of labour, with the result that they are compelled to accept work at low wages. Their standard of life is therefore poor, resulting in low efficiency. This in turn excludes them from better paid work.' [2]

In discussing another community, the Mala Aryans, the same study records :

[1] A Youth League in this district broke the power of these money-lenders by persuading the village elders to lend from the village *Mahimai Fund* (a small voluntary community tax on all sales within the village; the amount collected is used to build schools, temples, etc. and for general social amenities) to needy Christians, exactly as the *marwaris* had done but at reasonable rates of interest. The whole community now take the responsibility for lending and, in consequence, the borrowers are punctual in repayment. Here is an opportunity for the Church to help its poor members.

[2] Survey made by C.M.S. College, Kottayam, and Union Christian College, Alwaye, Travancore, South India, under the direction of Prof. P. C. Joseph, M.A., B.L.

'A lamentable lack of initiative and enterprise characterises this community. At Melkvu, the most important pastorate of this area, there is only one solitary individual who has taken to trade. More than 1,000 people have to depend on his store for the supply of necessaries such as rice, salt, etc. The economic inefficiency of the people is simply pathetic.'[1]

The North India College studies reveal a similar situation. Bhatty says:

'The Chamar has no responsibility in economic finance or planning. The agriculturalists and the moneyed men of the village have that. The Chamar serves and expects his payments to be ready when due. This lack of experience in the creation of capital goods handicaps him tremendously when he is expected to take his place as an independent in the economic world.'[2]

Commercial Weakness of the Christian Community

The Church of Christ since the ministry of its Founder has been built upon the lowly strata of society. The call of Jesus, 'take My yoke upon you and learn of Me,' has had a special appeal to those who in the eyes of the world are meek and lowly of heart, those who are heavy laden and those who, in following Christ, have had the least possessions to forsake, —whether of goods, power or social prestige. From the earliest beginnings of the Church in the Roman Empire, the rich and influential, the rulers, the upholders of established religion, custom, privilege and power have usually lagged behind in their acceptance of Christianity. In the history of the modern Church in Asia the large majority of Christians, and at least those who have dared to profess their faith openly, have come from the more humble groups of society. There have been many notable exceptions in each national Church of the East, but even the Christian converts from the privileged classes have usually paid the price of losing

[1] Survey made by C.M.S. College, Kottayam, and Union Christian College, Alwaye, Travancore, South India, under the direction of Prof. P. C. Joseph, M.A., B.L.

[2] Survey made by Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, United Provinces, India, under the direction of Prof. E. C. Bhatty, M.A.

position, wealth and influence and have joined the ranks of the lowly, as a result of following Christ.

The Samurai of Japan, the *literati* of China and the Brahmin of India furnished the early leadership of the Church and have put a lasting mark upon the Christian movement in the East. The experience of the members of the Kumamoto Band, which provided several of the outstanding Christian leaders of Japan, was typical of that of many of the early converts who risked everything for their faith. At Kumamoto, a provincial capital in southern Japan, in 1874 forty-two students in the Government School established for the sons of the Samurai became interested in Christianity through an American teacher of English. The national edict which made conversion to Christianity an offence punishable by death had been rescinded only three years before and there was still much fear and hatred of the foreign religion. These forty-two students banded themselves with a religious vow to hold true to their faith and sealed the compact in writing with their own blood. A storm of persecution broke upon them; they were beaten, starved, imprisoned by their own families and finally disinherited. Hearing of the new Christian College, the Doshisha,[1] which had just been opened in Kyoto, 600 miles to the north-east, twenty-one of these lads walked the whole distance, entered the school and eventually formed its first graduating class. This group, representing some of the best blood in Japan, furnished a number of the outstanding Christian leaders of their generation,—preachers, educators, writers, social leaders and politicians—and to the life-work and quality of these men modern Japanese Christianity owes an imperishable debt.

An equally thrilling story could be told of the early upper class converts to Christianity in various parts of China, Burma and India. Two characteristics of this early leadership, shared in common by all the Younger Churches, were first, that it came from social circles without business or commercial experience,—circles in which trade and dealings

[1] The first Christian College of Japan, founded in 1875 by the American Board.

with money were relegated to a lower caste. Secondly, the Missions felt obliged to provide positions within the Christian movement for these converts driven out from the society in which they had been reared. Thus from the very beginning of the Church in Asia the natural leaders of the new Christian community were to a large extent absorbed into the clerical, educational and spiritual activities of the Church, instead of taking up material pursuits.

However, the Chinese Christian community can produce a creditable number of strong commercial leaders and business enterprises. Two bankers in Peiping are leading churchmen. Shanghai's churches enrol among their members prominent bankers, publishers and successful retail and wholesale traders. Before the present war the Commercial Press of Shanghai, with 3,000 employees and branches in many parts of the country, published one-half of China's books of a general nature and 75% of the educational books of the country. Chinese Christians were active in the founding and management of this nation-wide enterprise. Business activity among Christians is more marked in South China than elsewhere. In relation to the size of the Christian communities the Christian business enterprises of Amoy, Swatow and Canton compare favourably with those of many Western cities. The well-known Swatow drawn-work industry, whose product is exported to many countries, in its fifty years of existence has been mainly in the hands of Christian companies. 80% of the 100 drawn-work firms in the Swatow district have Christian proprietors.

Japan too can point to a few large Christian commercial concerns and successful business men in banking, shipping and manufacture. Prominent among these for a generation has been 'Lion' Kobayashi, a producer of nationally-known dental powder and accessories. Mr. Kobayashi has used his wealth generously in Christian and secular philanthropies.

Upon the buses and tram cars of Manila the traveller sees a striking advertisement of a locally manufactured shoe. In a visit to the modern factory of this company, the Christian Filipino proprietor told us of the growth of his business from

a tiny cobbler's shop to the leading shoe factory of the Philippines. He attributes his success to the spirit of Christ which he has tried to demonstrate in his business. Before we left he led us to the little chapel on the factory roof in which he prays each morning with his foremen. This man is the leader of a rapidly growing independent Filipino church.

Even in the highlands of Sumatra we found among the economically depressed Bataks a number of families which through development of plantations and land investments had gained considerable wealth. The income of one Christian landlord of Spirok was said to be 280,000 *guilders* a year.

The lack of commercial leadership in the Indian churches is thoroughly discussed in the study of the economic background of the Church in the United Provinces.

'The pioneer missionaries had to face very strong and stern opposition from the orthodox section of the Hindu and Muslim communities. In the beginning the work was confined exclusively to the higher castes; the converts were drawn largely from the influential and affluent families. . . . This often resulted in persecution and ostracism which compelled the converts to leave their homes for ever for the sake of Christ. Hence these converts had to be provided with shelter in the mission compounds and were entirely supported by the missionaries. Later as the work of the societies developed, some of them were employed as evangelists, teachers and clerks. Since the attitude of non-Christians was antagonistic towards them, work had to be provided. Some who had received a good education were helped to secure jobs in the Government departments.' [1]

The same study tells of the realisation of the early missionaries that practical industrial training was needed to prepare the growing number of Christian youth for economic independence in society and for carrying the practical responsibilities of the growing Church.

'The missionary societies were fully conscious of the fact that if the indigenous Church . . . in the United Provinces was to

[1] Survey made by Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, United Provinces, India, under the direction of Prof. E. C. Bhatty, M.A.

grow in power and influence, it should be composed of individuals who enjoyed economic freedom and who in the course of time would be strong enough to shoulder the entire responsibility of carrying all the normal Christian activities which the Church should undertake for the extension of the Kingdom of God.' [1]

In many parts of India industrial schools and enterprises are to be found, under the management of Christian missions, which have been successful in building a greater economic stability in the Christian movement. We wish to point out, however, that this vocational training is not linked up with the larger industrial or commercial activities of India. The earlier generations of able Christians, as we have already seen, were absorbed into the Christian movement itself or entered Government service. Commerce and banking were practically closed to the Christian, so that to-day, with the remarkable exception of the Christian Syrian communities of Travancore and Cochin, there are scarcely any outstanding business men or large industrial enterprises among the Protestant Christians of India. This is a situation of grave importance for the future of the Christian movement for it has a direct bearing upon the development of a financially indigenous Church.

There are several ways in which this economic vacuum in the Indian Christian community neutralises much of the effort which missionary societies have put forth to prepare Christian youth for economic independence. First, there is the initial difficulty of the Christian graduate of an industrial school or commercial college securing a proper apprenticeship in the larger fields of his aspirations. Hindu and Moslem banks, shipping companies and large industries give preferential treatment to men of their own religion among the applicants for positions. In a study of the opportunities for employment and change of occupation of employed Christians in the chief cities of the United Provinces, Bhatty states:

[1] Survey made by Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, United Provinces, India, under the direction of Prof. E. C. Bhatty, M.A.

'The Christian young men have not had the opportunity of going through an apprenticeship. They find it hard to get admission to factories as apprentices. Repeated attempts have been made . . . to induce the factories to take Christian lads as apprentices, but these have almost always failed. . . . Ever since the communal electorates have been introduced into India, the different communities have become more and more communal-minded, and effort is made . . . to give employment only to the members of their own (religious) communities.

'All the minority communities combined, including Sikhs, Jews, Parsees and Indian Christians, etc., will get 8⅓ per cent of the appointments. . . . One can safely infer . . . that the Indian Christians will not get employment under the Government in the same proportion as they did twenty-five years ago. Even under this arrangement there is a glaring inequality in most of the services of the Government. . . .

'Another point to be noted is that whereas in Christian institutions non-Christians frequently hold posts, Christians are seldom appointed in Hindu and Muslim schools. The appointment of non-Christians in Christian schools therefore deprives Christian young men of jobs. With conditions as they exist to-day there seems to be no possibility of the non-Christian institutions appointing Christians on their staffs.

'. . . The situation in regard to the employment of Christians in the local bodies is much worse than that which prevails under the Government. In the majority of municipalities and District Boards no Christians are employed.' [1]

The problem of finding employment for young men who successfully complete their professional and technical education is seriously occupying the minds of Christian leaders in India. Doors of opportunity seem to be closing on every side. And yet these are the men to whom the Church must look for economic and community leadership in the future. The Christian community is woefully lacking in prominent men of influence to whom Christian young men may turn for recommendations and financial backing. Mr H. R. Harrop, M.A., I.E.S., states :

[1] Survey made by Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, United Provinces, India, under the direction of Prof. E. C. Bhatty, M.A.

'It seems that Bachelors of Commerce who think they may get a job in commercial concerns, cannot get any; not that there are no jobs, but there is nobody to back them.' [1]

Christian young men who have been trained for opening business enterprises of their own, experience great difficulty in securing capital. The absence of Christian bankers [2] or people of sufficient means to assist them, is keeping prospective young business men and tradesmen within the class of wage earners and is putting the possibility of attaining an independent career beyond their reach. Principal S. S. Chatterjee of Lucknow Christian College sums up the difficulties of Christian employment as follows:

'The problem of unemployment of the educated is . . . peculiarly acute (among Indian Christians). In the first place, since there are hardly any landlords, bankers or industrialists among the Christian community, educated Indian Christians have to depend almost entirely on employment. Hitherto many of them have been employed by missionary societies and in the Secretariat and other Government offices. Owing to the economic depression in England and America the missionary societies are faced with a shortage of funds and have been compelled to make heavy retrenchments in their staffs. . . . There is considerable apprehension that for political reasons the prospects of Indian Christians getting a fair deal in . . . recruitment to the public services may become still poorer under the new regime.' [3]

Political developments since these words were spoken largely confirm this expectation.

Bhatty states that admission to the twenty-six non-Christian technical and industrial schools of the United Provinces is regulated by communal considerations. Very few Indian Christians secure admission. Without recommendations from men of influence, admission is usually impossible. Under these circumstances an extremely small number of Christian young men can derive any benefit from

[1] Report of the United Provinces Unemployment Committee, p. 48.

[2] The strength of the banks of Travancore and Cochin, owned and managed by Syrian Christians, is an exception to this statement.

[3] Presidential Address delivered at 29th Annual Conference of the Indian Christian Association, Allahabad, United Provinces, 1936.

hese institutions. It was found that only two young men ›ut of three hundred cases investigated had received their raining in these schools. In the United Provinces there are ine Christian institutions that are preparing young men for ›ractical vocations. Six of these are of the industrial and ocational type, two are Commercial Departments of Christian Colleges,[1] and one is a high-grade Agricultural Institute.[2] The ndustrial schools admit boys who have not reached High School standard. The Commerce Schools and the Agricultural Institute take young men of higher education. The Agricultural Institute has had an excellent record in placing ts graduates in positions of leadership. A fair proportion of the men trained in the Commercial Colleges find well-paid ›ositions as typists and clerks but very few have been able o set themselves up in independent business. Of the 80 cases nvestigated by Bhatty, 30 were found to be employed as eachers, 20 had small commercial positions with daily wages, 5 were working on a variety of jobs, 10 were unemployed and had set up independent businesses. There are few facilities or those young men who desire a type of training that will ›repare them for larger commercial undertakings.

Bhatty affirms that among the difficulties in setting up ndependent business are lack of capital for tools, machinery, entals and stock; lack of patronage and higher standards of iving. The non-Christian money-lender takes as much as 2% per month interest on loans and demands high security. The four Christian Co-operative Credit Societies, accessible o the Christian groups of the United Provinces and from vhich loans for productive purposes can be secured, also equire collateral security, which is exceedingly difficult to urnish. For the majority of ambitious young men borrowing s practically impossible and they fall into the ranks of wage-earners or the unemployed.

The comparatively high standards of living to which Christian young men of education have been accustomed is a

[1] School of Commerce, Lucknow Christian College, and Commerce Department, St John's College, Agra.

[2] Allahabad Agricultural Institute.

further obstacle to securing positions with large commercial concerns, or of establishing themselves independently. In this connection Bhatty asks:

'How can the Indian Christian community . . . demand higher wages than the . . . non-Christian groups possessing the same educational and technical qualifications? The percentage of Indian Christians is so microscopic that their demand for higher wages does not influence the employer. . . . The non-Christians have readily adjusted themselves to the economic changes that have taken place, because no material change has occurred in their standard of living. But the case is different with Indian Christians. . . . Students maintain a very high standard of living during their college career. . . . If the Indian Christian community is to make its contribution to the life and body politic of these provinces it must adjust itself to the economic and social changes. . . . Otherwise a situation may arise that will deal a staggering blow to the development of Christianity in these provinces.[1]

'The standard of living at present maintained by the Indian Christian community is artificial. . . . On the mission compounds Indian Christians lived a life detached from their homogeneous groups and naturally copied those with whom their lot was cast. . . . If the missionaries had demonstrated that in a poor country like India it is possible to live cheaply and yet maintain high standards of cleanliness and good health, it would have greatly helped Indian Christians in building up economic stability.' [2]

The picture of extreme commercial weakness in the Indian Church is happily relieved by turning to the great Syrian Christian community of the State of Travancore. Joseph tells us that:

'In education, ownership of land, houses, money and investments the Syrian Christians have become one of the leading communities of Travancore. They have shown a special aptitude for banking. Out of the 24 important Travancore banks, 11 are owned by Syrian Christians. Some of these carry on an extensive business

[1] Survey made by Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, United Provinces, India, under the direction of Prof. E. C. Bhatty, M.A.

[2] *Ibid.*

throughout the whole of India. Of 240 minor banks with limited liability, 198 belong to Syrian Christians.' [1]

Syrian Christians own nearly one-third of the 79,000 acres of rubber plantations in the State; their area of 18,000 acres of tea plantations is nine times that held by the non-Christian community. Two-thirds of the great reclamation work of the backwaters of Travancore was accomplished by Christian engineering companies. The public transportation services, limited liability bus companies, motor boat and private motor services of the State are mainly owned and operated by Christians. Fifty of the 165 printing companies are in the hands of the Christian community, and they also control a large proportion of the publishing business of the State. Joseph attributes the remarkable economic prosperity of the Syrian Christian community mainly to their widespread educational advantages. He says:

'The remarkable progress in education is the achievement of the last hundred years and is mainly due to the strenuous efforts of the missionaries who fully realised the necessity for Christian education among the Syrians. . . . According to the census report the Syrian Christians in Travancore State come next to the Brahmans in literacy.'[2]

We must bear in mind, however, in any comparison of the commercial strength of the Syrian Christians with the economic weakness of the Church in other parts of India, the fact that Christianity came to Travancore at latest 1,400 years ago and the basis for the economic prosperity of many leading families was established long before the era of modern missions.

In the consideration of the immense problem of the economic security of the depressed classes and its relation to the maintenance of the Church, missions are in danger of overlooking the still larger question of the economic strength of the whole Christian community of India and its potential

[1] Survey made by C.M.S. College, Kottayam and Union Christian College, Alwaye, under direction of Prof. P. C. Joseph, M.A., B.L.
[2] *Ibid.*

leadership in seeking to improve the backward condition of its people, and to build an independent Church. The growth of the Christian movement in Western lands is due to the mobilisation of the leadership and financial resources of the large number of Christian laymen, who have consecrated their material possessions no less than themselves to the upbuilding of the Church. This partnership of the spiritual and material strength of the Christian communities of the West has laid the foundation for the growth of the Church of Christ, together with its missionary activities throughout the world. It is not sufficient for those who are concerned with the development of the Younger Churches of Asia to plan only in terms of the spiritual and institutional leadership of the Church. If the Christian movement is to endure and develop in Asia it must also enlist lay leadership and foster economic strength within the Younger Churches. One is impelled to ask where are the resources both in funds and, equally important, in competent lay management to which the indigenous Church must look in the future? What practical steps are the missionary societies taking to meet the situation in the Christian community of India? The words of the modern Chinese philosopher, Dr Hu Shih, beautifully describing the necessary partnership of the spiritual and material for the advancement of mankind, may be applied to the advancement of the Kingdom of God and His Church: 'The spiritual and material forces are the two wings of the bird which, to rise from the earth in flight, depends upon the control and harmonious action of each wing.'

CHAPTER VI

FURTHER OBSTACLES

David in Saul's Armour.

THE western Church has made the mistake of girding the eastern David in Saul's armour and putting Saul's sword into his hands. Under these difficult conditions the Church in the Orient has made a brave showing, but it is reasonable to expect that it will give a better account of itself by using its own equipment.

One of the most thoughtful of the oriental delegates to a conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Hawaii in 1927, in speaking of the problem of the East and West working together, said: 'I wonder if you Anglo-Saxons have thought of the handicaps that we Orientals experience when we work with you. The international research programme is largely framed by western members; the conference agenda is drawn up from the western point of view and with western phraseology; the conference is set up on western lines—parliamentary procedure, committees, commissions, "round tables,"—and its time-table has a western tempo. You choose the game we are to play and then decide the rules of the game. Moreover, you have the choice of the weapon with which our battles must be fought on the conference floor—the English language—which we use imperfectly, but which is your mother tongue.'

It is difficult for the westerner in the East, whether he is a scientist, manufacturer, politician or missionary, to sense the degree to which he and what he represents determine the conditions and decide the programme upon which an enterprise will be based. The East has played the role of pupil to the West for so long that the acceptance of his way of doing things has been taken for granted and he mistakes a silent acquiescence on the part of his oriental associates for

approval. The policy of adapting the imported institutions and ways of the West to the East has long been recognised as a condition of their survival.

The western Church was brought over from Europe and America and set up in much the same way as the western bank, factory, college and shipbuilding yard. From the pressure of economic needs and cultural standards, these institutions largely had to conform to their surroundings. The Church alone, by reason of its foreign subsidy, was not obliged to the same extent to adjust itself to indigenous standards and has made few adaptations to the culture and economy of its new environment.

The monetary factor as applied to the upkeep of the western type of Church, is foreign to the instinct and experience of the Oriental. His inability to maintain the upkeep of the unfamiliar church organisation and institutional plant is a discouragement both to him and to the missionary. Pastors with incomes many times greater than those of their parishioners are beyond the supporting capacity of the churches, with the result that either such pastors are put out of the reach of the rural parishes, or else their support is largely dependent upon foreign sources. Western living standards, dress and cultural amenities, acquired during residence abroad or in the mission college or theological seminary, tend to separate the pastor from the people of his parish.

The many-sided institutional life of the Church—the National Christian Councils, Christian Literature Societies, Bible Societies, publishing houses, Y.M.C.A.s and Y.W.C.A.s, colleges, schools, settlements, theological seminaries and hospitals, form an elaborate world of activity, dependent to a large extent upon foreign aid, which is alien to the oriental Christian. The missionary's activity, organisation and speed are also unnatural to the Orient. When backed by foreign money these tend to leave the Oriental breathless and inarticulate. A secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in Tokyo recalls various futile attempts to get prompt action by the Board of Directors on desirable new projects planned along American lines. These matters would usually be politely discussed and

then tabled. In the course of a year or two, however, the foreign secretary would begin to be aware that the measure called for many months before was being carried out, but in a Japanese way and on a Japanese time-table.

In all Asiatic peoples there are innate and characteristic concepts of beauty and spiritual idealism which have not yet been expressed in the architecture and arrangement of their churches. When these have found their way into brick and stone, we may expect an increased interest and sense of ownership on the part of the congregations in their churches. With rare exceptions, the church buildings in the Orient do not represent the ideology of the Christians who worship in them. Wiser's study of rural congregations in the United Provinces of India states that 91% of the congregations felt no sense of ownership in their churches. However, India can furnish rarely beautiful instances of the embodiment of national art motives and the spiritual aspirations of a congregation in ecclesiastical architecture. The cathedral at Dornakal, built upon Indian architectural lines by Christian artisans, provides a simple yet beautiful temple of Christian worship, in perfect harmony with its surroundings. The church of the little Christian community at Bethlehem in the Punjab, which is still under construction, is a product of the artistry and love of the congregation. Every stone and timber is shaped and put into position by the members. Their prayers, craftsmanship and labour will form the permanent title of the Bethlehem congregation to their church.

Felton says, 'The one-room church of the village of Kozura, in Shizuoka Prefecture, Japan, represents the aspirations of the peasants in a remarkable way. The little church stands on a steep hill, overlooking the blue waters of the bay with the glory of Mt Fuji in the distance. The villagers carried every stone and board up that steep hill to erect their church amidst the splendour of that landscape. The simple building has one strange feature. The chancel wall has been made into a huge window which frames Mt Fuji and the islands of the bay. The minister stands at one side as he preaches, so as not to obstruct this inspiring view. During the

week these farm folk must stand with bent backs and look down into the mud of the rice fields, but on Sunday morning they look across the bay, away from their work, up to Mt Fuji and on up to God.' [1]

Illiteracy.

The ability to read and write is a first step toward the economic improvement of the individual in the modern world. More and more, the people of the countries of the Younger Churches must deal with relationships that demand literacy as a requisite of self-protection and self-help. Bills of sale, rental contracts, post-office and bank dealings, purchase of railway tickets, government and police rules, health measures, traffic and travel regulations and agricultural improvements, all are as a sealed book to the man who cannot read, except through an intermediary. He can take advantage of few of the facilities for self-improvement that Government or the mission offer.

Reports of the Mass Education Movement in China, which has been successful in teaching several million Chinese illiterates to read and write a selected list of one thousand of the most frequently used characters, state that a source of its success is that the Chinese peasant has begun to understand that illiteracy is a handicap to his prosperity.

The economic advantage which even a low degree of literacy brings to a worker is illustrated on the Copper Belt of Central Africa. The Bantu miners who can read are able to acquaint themselves with government regulations for the control of mines. In this way they are well posted with the exact requirements in regard to food, pay, working hours, sick-leave and other conditions of contract and are in a position to demand their rights not only for themselves but for their illiterate comrades.

The Indian College Studies show conclusively the close relation between earning power and literacy. Lucas describes the relation of education to the economic improvement of the Indian Christian in the Punjab. 'It serves as a protection

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East*.

against fraud in the keeping of accounts, the signing of notes, etc. The amount of fraud practised upon the illiterate poor is great. Literacy opens the door to employment; it leads to better health conditions, both curative and preventive.'

During a visit to Dornakal in 1937, we were interested in the case of a Christian landowner who came in from a district in the dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad to report the loss of his land through deception. He had agreed to let his farm at a fixed annual rental and had placed his thumb-mark upon the document in lieu of signature. At the end of the first year he discovered that what he had taken to be a lease form was actually a bill of sale, and that he had ignorantly sold his land for one-twentieth of its real value. The transaction was registered in the district recorder's office with the man's own personal seal upon the paper.

Railway police in Northern India state that one of the most common difficulties with which they deal is the deception and theft practised by booking clerks upon illiterate peasants. The clerk fraudulently sells a ticket several stations short of the destination to which the traveller pays. A false ticket is substituted, the clerk pockets the balance and the helpless traveller on arrival at his destination finds himself under arrest for over-riding his ticket.

Kellock's study of 613 Bombay Christian households states that those whose monthly earnings were above Rs.45 could all read and write; people earning between Rs.35 and Rs.45 were 10% illiterate, those between Rs.25 and Rs.35, 13%; between Rs.15 and Rs.25, 28%; below Rs.15, 34%; while 40% of unemployed heads of households were unable to read or write.[1]

The study of the history of ten typical Christian families made by Indore Christian College shows that in the case of six families a marked economic improvement has been brought about through education.[2]

[1] J. Kellock, M.A., B.D., Wilson College, *The Social and Economic Environment of the Christian Population of Bombay City*.

[2] P. R. Langer, M.A., Indore Christian College, *The Socio-economic Conditions in Christian Communities in the Central India Agency*.

Illiteracy was stated to be a primary cause of the dee poverty of the people of ten of the thirteen Bengal Christia villages studied by Serampore Theological College.[1]

Ponniah asserts that education has played the largest pa in the economic progress of the Christian Nadars of Sout India. He points to the fact that indebtedness among th Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly Christians steadily decrease as the ratio of literacy rises. In South Tinnevelly the 193 census shows that the percentage of literacy among the males the Christian community is exactly one-half of that of th Brahman community and does not equal that of the Mosle group. 'It is quite true that there can be no improvement i the social and economic life of these Christian communiti until and unless their education is improved. Education indeed the very basis for any abiding progress.'

As we have already observed, the outstanding example gain in economic strength of an Indian Christian communi through education is that of the prosperous Syrian Christians Travancore and Cochin. In contrast to conditions in all oth parts of India, these Christians control a large proportion the financial and commercial enterprises in their State.

Joseph in his economic study of the Syrian Christia community observes that their remarkable prosperity has bee due to their response to one hundred years of education effort by the English missionaries.

'The work of the C.M.S. College of Kottayam during the la one hundred years can never be over-estimated. Madras Christi College has been equally important. Almost all the Syrians w have been prominent in Church and State have passed throu these two institutions.

'The spread of education and the opening of salaried po had the effect of economic regeneration. Savings from salar and professional incomes have become the capital needed for t starting of trade and industries. The educated Christian fre himself from the economic restraint of the Hindu joint-fam system and enjoyed a new freedom of enterprise. He could mortga

[1] Serampore College, *The Economic Basis and Self-support of Cert*

his property, sell it to raise money for educating his children or invest it in trade. The caste Hindus have had no such freedom of initiative to take advantage of the great economic opportunities about them and the Christians have come very rapidly to the front in nearly every line of commercial and practical affairs.' [1]

Two historic public statements upon the economic progress of the Syrian reveal the striking influence of Christian education. In 1821, Mar Dionysius III, the Syrian Metropolitan of Malankara, described the conditions of the Cochin Syrians in a letter to Colonel Newall, the British Resident of Travancore: 'The majority of the Syrians are poor and support themselves by daily labour, others by merchandise and agriculture. There are none who could justly be styled as men of property. There are very few indeed among them possessing property worth five thousand rupees.'

One hundred and ten years later in 1931, Mr T. K. S. Menon, Census Commissioner for Cochin, writes of the same community: 'The Christians compete with the Brahmans in commercial callings and lead the van in industrial enterprises. Indigenous banking which was once the monopoly of the Brahmans has now passed mostly into the hands of Christians. The progress of higher education in the community has enabled them to compete successfully with others in public administration, the professions and liberal arts. The catholicity of Christians in the choice of occupations is revealed by the occupation statistics of 1931.'

Ill-health and Low Vitality.

Another formidable handicap upon the earning power of the Christian community in all Asiatic lands is the state of chronic ill-health and low vitality to which such large numbers of the population are subject.

Dr Victor Heiser, formerly of the Rockefeller Foundation Health Service, after careful field surveys reported 90% of the people in large sections of India to be infected with hookworm. About the same incidence of the disease is found

[1] Survey made by C.M.S. College, Kottayam, and Union Christian

in the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies and the Straits Settlements. It is estimated that hookworm patients incur a 25 to 50% loss of vitality through being hosts to this ground parasite. Dysentery, malaria, enteric and a multitude of intestinal parasites cause a serious drain upon the energy required for efficient workers. Effective physical or mental labour is next to impossible under such conditions.

In 1932 we were told by Dr L. Mottoule, Director of Health of the Union Minière in the Belgian Congo, that the average health quotient of the thousands of Bantu applicants for labour in the copper mines was about 60%. No man was accepted who could not show a vitality of 70% or over. About 90% of the men who applied for work in the mines were rejected for health reasons. Dr Mottoule was justly proud that the average vitality quotient of the miners who were discharged at the end of three years' service had risen by 18%. A man who is suffering from a 40% deficiency of vitality and in whom various forms of fever are chronic or intermittent is no more likely to be successful as a farmer than as a miner. Unless relief is to be had, he is doomed to an inefficient career, if not to a hopeless struggle for existence.

The superintendent of one of the largest mission leper asylums in India, who has made a careful study of the subject, states that ill-health is one of the chief sources of economic weakness of the Christian community. He estimates that five to six million Indians are affected by leprosy; 75% of Indian children are fed opium by their mothers; 80% of the general population are infected with hookworm and from 25% to 50% are suffering with syphilitic infection. The economic loss, due to preventable diseases, to absence from work, and to inefficiency runs to an appallingly high figure.

Felton says:

'Many people feel that the extension of the Gospel among unevangelised people is the primary task of the Church. As soon as we try to realise this ideal we find that the little Christian fellowships need to be organised into churches with trained leaders. This requires meeting-places and salaries and we face the problem of self-support. . . . These people are kept in poverty, in part because

of insanitary homes and unhealthy communities, and much of the resulting sickness is preventable. Health affects the growth of the Church in the most remote places of the world, as well as in our own neighbourhood. . . .

'Korea is a land of many vegetables. The fields where these are grown are fertilised with the "night soil" of the villages. The houses of the farmers are close together; the privy, the barn, the pig pen are all in the courtyard of the house. Children are always eating something—flies abound. Infectious diseases are easily spread among the closely built houses. Nearly half of the children die before they are ten years old. The death-rate of Korean children from one to ten years of age is from three to ten times that in the United States. The saving of the lives of these children is a part of the programme of the Church just as is the saving of their souls.' [1]

'Heretofore much emphasis has been placed upon what a Chinese family must give up to become Christian. The kitchen gods must be taken down, but nothing has been put in their place. Foot-binding must be stopped; ancestral worship, concubinage, necromancy and idolatry must all be given up. The teaching was largely negative. Christians must stop gambling, drinking, smoking and paying for the upkeep of the temple. The health standard which the Christian homes are now adopting is an attempt to put something back into the home—some new practices and attitudes. The following is a list of the simple things that Chinese Christians are making a part of their "Health Standard for Christian Homes":

'Daily sweeping in and around the house.
Drinking only water that has been boiled.
All food to be served hot, or kept covered from flies.
Dishes to be washed in water that has been boiled.
Special chopsticks for serving the food.
A separate wash-basin and towel for each family member.
A fly-swatter, fly-trap and fly-proof cupboard for food.
Disposal of garbage by burying or burning.
An outside family toilet, covered to keep out flies.
Inside walls of the house to be whitewashed once a year.
Adequate windows and skylights for each room.
A chimney for the cooking-stove.
A mosquito net for each bed, and window and door screens.' [2]

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East*.

[2] *Ibid.*

Although Japan has 50,000 physicians the vast majority of them are practising in the cities and large towns. The reluctance of Japanese doctors to serve the rural areas is so great that the Government pays a subsidy of 1,000 yen to induce them to settle in rural districts. 3,243 Japanese towns are without medical aid of any kind.[1] 47% of the Japanese people are rural dwellers. The health situation among the Japanese farmers is very bad; their houses are not constructed to keep out the cold, with the result that pneumonic ailments and rheumatism are prevalent among great numbers of people. Ill-health is one of the greatest sources of loss to the Japanese worker. It is estimated that a million people are sick in bed all the time, and that a very large proportion of the resulting social and economic loss could be avoided by simple hygienic and preventive measures.[2]

Lack of Christian Solidarity.

The individualism of Christian teaching and experience meets practical difficulties when it seeks to adapt itself to communal forms of society in the fields of the Younger Churches. The missionary himself is a product of a type of social philosophy utterly distinct from that of the new society to which he brings his message. In the East the social unit is the family, the village or the clan. The individual has little intrinsic worth apart from his group. He is esteemed for the degree to which he can enhance the security and solidarity of the group to which he belongs. In the democratic West the individual is the basic social unit and society is evaluated by virtue of its capacity to produce efficient and happy individuals. These points of view are as far removed as the poles and represent life outlooks that are in complete contrast. The missionary and the western Church have been shaped by this democratic outlook and philosophy of life. It is not strange that when the missionary begins to implement his message in the oriental social order he finds himself in difficulties.

[1] Quoted by Felton from *Domei*, the national news service of Japan.

[2] Quoted by Felton from S. Kimoto's article on 'Health Mobilisation' in *The Japan Times*, 1937.

Our Lord recognised the conflict between His teaching and the sanctions of Jewish society and was Himself prepared to pay the price of breaking those conventions and relationships which loyalty to His principles dictated. Christianity has disintegrated the foundations of oriental society. It has violated the basic relationships and traditions by separating men and women from the groups to which they belonged and introducing them to a new centre of personal loyalty in Christ.

With notable exceptions, the Church has been built up by the process of detaching individuals from their natural social groups. They have given up the solidarity and security of the old brotherhood and family system for a spiritual brotherhood of believers in a common Lord and for a family in which all are children of a heavenly Father. The days when the mission station and its many activities could give protection and economic security to large numbers of these detached converts have largely passed and the missionary can no longer play the role of patron and employer to the extent of former days. The oriental Christian must increasingly stand upon his own feet in a hostile or indifferent world.

The Church has called its members out of the old brotherhood which gave them a certain social solidarity and economic security. It must not shirk the responsibility of seeking to create a new brotherhood which will provide practical security and a medium through which the Christian life can be expressed. Baptism does not transform an Asiatic into an individualist. If the Church is to hold him and help him to a full realisation of Christ, it must find ways in which it can supply the communal responsibility, support and fellowship to which the convert is accustomed and which is the only type of society in which he is trained to live. Otherwise he has no other recourse than to seek fellowship and security in the old brotherhood.

The call comes to the Church of the Orient as never before to close up its widely scattered and divided ranks ; to preach and practise a new Gospel of Christian brotherhood,—not only one of spiritual fellowship but of practical service and

loyalty which will in some measure take the place of those traditions which the new Christian has given up. In the planning of large institutional enterprises, such as hospitals, settlements, industrial and technical schools, their availability for service to the largest possible Christian population should be a main consideration in location and subsequent influence. The upbuilding of the Church through strengthening the Christian community should govern the expenditure of funds and the policy of such projects.

The younger Christian community is usually an exceedingly small minority group in the midst of a great non-Christian population. Even where this population is not actively hostile the Christians experience practical disadvantages and are in a weak position as a community. There is a constant attrition in progress as a result of intermarriage with non-Christians, changes of location, moral back-sliding, social and political pressure and the loss of children who grow away from the Church. The discrimination against Christians in employment and in academic and official preferences, especially in India, is a peril of great dimensions for the future Church and calls for the attention of the ablest Christian leaders.

Added to these factors is the fundamental weakness of Protestantism,—the division of the Church into many small and often unfriendly and rival denominations. The enemies of the Protestant Church rejoice in its divisions, well knowing that they have small reason to fear a religion which has few united policies and which looks to a hundred different sources of authority and strategy. The Church must face the implications and inevitable consequences of these weaknesses, and meet them both individually and collectively.

In Asiatic countries many measures are being taken by the churches in their attempts to establish a Christian brotherhood of solidarity and security. In Northern Japan we find a rural church which considers one of its chief services is to counsel the three hundred impoverished households of the community on problems of economic security. The pastor uses the church as a centre for the discussion of ways and means of improving the earning power of the villagers. In

a parish in Western Japan, where vegetables and fruit are wasted in the summer, the pastor has installed a co-operative kitchen in which ten of his neediest families are canning various fruits to supplement their winter's food supply. He has provided employment for some of the young men by opening a small factory in which hand sickles are made. This is keeping the unemployed younger sons of several Christian families from drifting to the city. Another Japanese pastor has organised the young people of his church in an 'Institute for the Study of the Problems of Youth,' through which he is working with them on vocational guidance and on measures for meeting unemployment. The pastor of a parish in Gifu Prefecture, with two hundred households, is continually trying to find new ways of serving his community. His motto is, 'It is more important for the Church to serve the community than for the community to support the Church.' He has demonstrated that if a church does serve the community its support is assured. This little church has a night-school for leaders of co-operatives, conducts six day-nurseries during the busiest farming season, supervises a health visitation committee and runs another night-school to train the girls of the parish in nursing the sick. Another Japanese pastor characterised his great opportunity, in leading his church in a fellowship of service, in this way: 'A man must bury himself in his village and its problems, and expect to spend his life right there.'

The employment bureaux of several city churches in China, Japan and Korea have successfully co-operated with municipal authorities in finding work for unemployed members of their parishes.

The Bo Hie Dong community church of Fukien Province, South China, has demonstrated that a pastor, through intelligent leadership and co-operation with the Government Department of Agriculture, can appreciably improve the income and health of the members of his parish. Pastor Uong has raised new varieties of vegetables in a demonstration garden, worked by the young men of his church, which has been copied by many local farmers. This vegetable diet has

checked the disease of *beri-beri* caused by a too exclusive diet of rice. He has introduced an improved rice seed, which increases the local harvest yield by 50%, and has brought a new prosperity to the community. A women's night-school is teaching the mothers of the village to read. His young men's village improvement society has successively tackled the problems of health, sanitation, diet, illiteracy and evangelism and has turned the church into a brotherhood of service and reconstruction for the community.

J. C. Heinrich in the Punjab is making progress in inducing the farmers of the Christian colonies of Martinpur and Youngsonabad to use an improved grade of cotton seed and to sow in lines, instead of broadcasting. The new seed, when correctly planted, gives an average yield of 6 to 8 *maunds*[1] of cotton to the acre, as compared with the 4 *maunds* of the average Punjab crop. One farmer in 1937 averaged 16 *maunds* to the acre by using improved facilities. By such simple measures the Punjab cotton farmer can increase the income from this crop from 50% to 400%. Heinrich says, 'Most mission resources are being spent upon effort aiming at spiritual and intellectual advance, with almost 100% neglect of economic development. For five years I have concentrated on experiments that will broaden the economic base of the Christian villagers.'

From observations in many places it would seem that greater practical backing of Christians by their fellow Christians is needed in many parts of the East. The alleged inefficiency and unreliability of Christian servants and workmen cause widespread impatience among Westerners and even among missionaries. 'The Christians expect more consideration and special treatment; they are lazier and less teachable, less competent and trustworthy; they let you down in a tight corner, where a Mohammedan or Hindu would not'—are frequent criticisms heard in India.

A similar situation exists with regard to Christian artisan labour. A missionary superintendent in the Punjab writes, 'The real problem seems to be the absence of push and

[1] 1 maund=80 lb. avoirdupois.

initiative in so many directions on the part of the Christians, as well as their lack of business integrity. We try over and over again to employ Christian workmen, but lose heart over the job. They find it hard to get contracts in the open market, and when the mission wants a bit of work done they charge the most exorbitant prices. You can imagine that such men do not get employed a second time. For this reason, many of our Christians are out of work.'

From Bijnor comes the comment, 'I have seldom seen Christian artisans, but when they have been good workmen they have been employed and have had permanent work. Usually their work is inferior and their demands for payment unreasonable.'

A missionary in Meerut says, 'It is true that Christian artisans, builders, servants and general labourers are seldom employed by missions, Christian institutions and families, but for a very good reason—that they are not capable.'

One is impelled to ask—is it wise strategy for the Church or missionary to abandon the inefficient, unreliable Christian artisan or servant? Is it not part of the task of the Church to do its utmost to enable the Grace of God to shine forth in first-class craftsmanship and trustworthiness in the converts it has won? What better witness to the power of Christ can the new Christian make than this? And how weak the witness of the Church becomes when these qualities are lacking in its members.

The need for Christians to stand by each other and to support Christian enterprises is also brought out by correspondence from other parts of India. 'Christians are not too good at pulling together and helping each other. They often pull each other down, instead of pushing each other upwards.' And from another source, 'The large mission schools in this district get all their supplies from non-Christians, instead of supporting the one Christian business firm. Nor apparently has the Christian manager the initiative to ask for orders. The Indian Christian community, instead of supporting its own weaving industry which employs Christian widows, gets cheap but not durable goods from the bazaar. Instances of this nature could be multiplied.'

In spite of the generations of emphasis upon Christian ethical and industrial training by the Church in many districts of India, we have yet to hear of a Protestant Christian contractor or builder who is employed in large-scale construction by missions. Mohammedans, Hindus and Roman Catholics are chosen as more competent, better able to furnish a reliable force of workers and more faithful in fulfilling contracts. Thousands of young men who have experienced Christian industrial training have not been educated either technically or ethically to a point where they can be used in a serious way by the Church which has trained them. The fact that such responsible work has to be given to non-Christians, who have had neither the advantage of Christian teaching nor technical education, is most disturbing. It indicates a lack of solidarity and of statesmanship and strategy within the Christian Church. Unquestionably there are many technical and social difficulties in the way of Christian artisans who would compete with the Hindu builders' caste. We believe, however, that a reorganisation of Christian industrial education, with the definite objective of a larger use of its graduates, would be a timely policy. As Ponniah suggests, the present technical training needs to be supplemented with courses in accounting, cost estimating and buying, which would prepare students for taking building contracts. There should be facilities for aiding promising graduates to start out as builders, and provision made for assisting them after graduation with expert counsel and loans to put them on their feet. They should be encouraged with modest contracts until they have proved their worth. Without such definite planning, follow-up and backing it is out of the question for the present type of industrial school student to succeed in competition with the Hindu. The individualistic philosophy of the West when applied to an oriental graduate of a Christian school who goes out to compete in a non-Christian society is inadequate. The individual is helpless, for he stands alone, outside the closely knit guild or caste with its inherited traditions, skill and mutual support. Unless the Christian school can provide a measure of security and opportunity for the

new graduate the odds are against him at the outset of his career.

The Christian Church faces yet another dilemma with regard to the inefficient 'marginal' members of the community. The social problems of non-Christian Asiatic society are provided for through the family system of the Far East and the caste brotherhood of India. Under these systems the misfits, failures and unfortunates of society enjoy a measure of security through access to the 'rice bowl' of relatives and caste patrons. Christian society recognises no such degree of responsibility and substitutes institutional care for group responsibility. In the recent destruction of Chinese sections of Shanghai 150,000 refugees were sheltered in the relief camps organised by the Municipal Council, various religious societies and the Red Cross, but it was estimated that another 500,000 destitute Chinese were cared for by relatives within the International Settlement and French Concession. A Chinese neighbour who had given refuge to eighty-four relatives whose homes had been destroyed, said without emotion, 'They are my relatives and will eat my food and sleep under my roof as long as they need to stay.'

The costly institutional care of unfortunates which has been assumed by western Governments is largely beyond the financial ability of the Asiatic nations, and is alien to the social instincts of the people. The Christian community will be increasingly compelled to supply the social and economic security which was offered by the old brotherhood and family systems and which the Asiatic Governments cannot adequately provide. If the Church fails at this point, its power to hold its new members will be greatly diminished. A highly trained Indian minister in the United Provinces confided in a missionary friend his own problem of security. He said, 'I have a good position and salary and have enjoyed many Christian advantages, but I have to fight a sense of deep longing to exchange these things, and the uncertainties and increased problems they have brought, for the economic security and safety of my ancestral caste village.'

CHAPTER VII

Methods of Church Support

SELF-SUPPORT is the common problem which confronts the Younger Churches. Are the roots of the religious institution called the Church penetrating deep into the eastern environment? Is the Church able to find adequate nourishment from the soil in which it has been planted? If not, how much longer are the Younger Churches to lean upon the support given by the West?

As we have already stated, the Church is an alien institution in oriental life. The community is already absorbed in financing its customary activities. If a place is to be made for the Church it can only be by disturbing the social and economic equilibrium of the community. The great majority of eastern people live very close to the margin of sustenance. Their social and religious obligations have been adjusted to their slender economic power. It is no easy matter for such people to support the Christian Church, with its usual demands on the time and financial resources of its members.

We have discussed the cultural and psychological adjustments which the Church experiences in entering the Asiatic field; in this chapter we will consider some of the economic adjustments of the Church and describe different ways in which these are being made.

As we have seen, the meagre net income of the oriental farmer, whether in Japan, Korea or India, reduces his life to a grim struggle for existence, and in an alarming proportion of cases it is a losing struggle. Felton states:

> 'Throughout the Orient, farms are too small. There are too many people and too little land. Farms of from two to four acres cannot provide a living for social institutions such as the Church and the school.' [1]

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[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East*.

In the task of trying to adjust the organisation and financial load of the Church to the oriental rural economy we are met by the fact that the average membership of the rural church is too small to support a pastor. As in the case of the modern architect who must estimate the weight of a building in relation to the nature of its foundations, there are three courses that may be followed in the attempt to adjust the economic load of the Church to the supporting power of the community. First, the area of the base on which the load must be carried may be widened; second, the supporting strength of the structure may be reinforced and, third, the total load supported by foundation and structure may be lightened. In the case of church support by the rural oriental community we suggest that all three of these measures are needed.

To carry on a useful work and to support its pastor properly a church must have an adequate financial foundation. If the financial strength of its members is too small it must enlarge the numbers of those who are supporting it.

'In the county seat of a certain American county is a church with over 1,600 members. It has one pastor to support, one furnace for which to buy coal and one roof to keep in repair. In that same county there are 25 rural churches of the same denomination. They have a total of a little over 1,500 members. These 1,500 members must support 15 pastors, instead of only one as the 1,600 members in the city do, and keep 25 roofs in repair instead of one and buy coal for 25 furnaces instead of one. The thermometer goes as low in the country as in the city, and the coal must be hauled farther. The daughters of the rural pastors must pay the same for board and tuition in college as the daughter of the city pastor. The 25 rural churches are too small, their members are too few to support the 15 pastors. We must unite some of the churches, or we must somehow enlarge the parishes. The same situation exists in the Orient. The rural churches are too small. A rural church in China with its 35 members can never hope to support a pastor. We need our rural churches organised into larger circuits or parishes.' [1]

There are numerous churches in Japan, China and India,

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East.*

whose membership of 40 or 50 thirty years ago was too small to support a pastor, which have been carried along by a mission through the years. To-day the membership of many of these churches is no larger and the churches are no nearer independence. Thirty years hence, with the same membership and under the same conditions, it is unreasonable to expect that the financial position will be improved. Felton concludes from his studies of church finance in the Far East that for the support of an adequate church programme and pastor's budget 200 members are needed, whether in China, Korea or Japan.

'In China where farms are so small and families so poor the number of members should be larger than 200, rather than smaller. In Korea . . . a membership of 200 might be adequate, but certainly no less. The average membership of the Methodist Church in Korea is 92, but the salaries are too small. In Japan many churches of 100 members are self-supporting, but their local community programme is quite limited. A larger membership would provide an adequate budget for an all-round church programme. . . . Larger parishes mean a larger group of churches and a larger membership. Unpaid lay preachers working under the supervision of a trained pastor are especially needed in the Orient to enlarge the parishes and make them self-supporting.' [1]

It is of interest to note that studies of rural church life in the United States have arrived at a similar basis of 200 members as the smallest economic unit upon which a rural church can be adequately maintained. However, we must beware of standardised criteria of this kind, for it is obvious that a church budget, which requires the gifts of 200 members, at an average gift of 1% of their income, could as easily be raised by 100 members if their average gift amounted to 2% of their income. On the same principle a church of 'tithers' could live upon the basis of a very small membership.

The second course to be followed by the Church in adjusting its financial load to the carrying power of its constituents, offers a wide field for experimentation. It will be useful to examine the methods by which churches in various oriental

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East.*

lands have encouraged giving. First, the members may be helped to increase their income.

'This may be done by the introduction of tested seeds and improved livestock. Insect pests and animal diseases may be eradicated. Improvements can be made in methods of soil conservation and in the use of fertiliser. Co-operative marketing societies can be organised. These improved techniques are available in every country through the agricultural colleges and similar agencies. Some community leader such as the rural pastor is needed to bring the agricultural information and help from above down to the needs of the conservative farmers.' [1]

The rural church can explain and popularise agricultural methods so as to show their relation to the improvement of the whole community, including the church and school. An increased income for the farmers will increase their church support as well as raise their own standards of living.

Another way to increase the support of the church is to devise various methods, instead of only one—the cash gift—by which members may give. Church members have varied abilities and interests, and ways in which these may be capitalised must be found. Felton in his *The Rural Church in the Far East*, explains the working of 'The Lord's Acre Plan' which is being used with success among the scattered, poverty-stricken rural people of North Carolina. He considers this plan to be even more adapted to the Orient than to America because of the greater difficulty in making money gifts. Under this plan the church member at the beginning of the year makes a pledge to raise a certain animal or cultivate a crop on a certain piece of land and to dedicate the amount realised from the animal or the land to the Lord. The parcel on which the crop is raised is called 'The Lord's Acre.' A small committee of laymen, and not the pastor, should undertake to direct the project.

'When the every-member canvass is made, pledges in cash and labour are also made. The father may agree to raise an acre of corn or cotton or a row of sweet potatoes. The mother may

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East*.

pledge the "Sunday eggs." The son may raise a pig or a lamb and the daughter may set a hen and give the entire brood of chickens, when raised, to the church treasurer. These gifts are not given to the minister . . . but are sold by the farmers' co-operative and the proceeds, in cash, turned over to the church treasurer.

'These projects are often carried out by groups instead of individuals. A boys' class may raise together a field of potatoes. A primary class may each take home from their teacher a day-old chick to raise. The men of the church may lease a field and cultivate it together.' [1]

The following special values of 'The Lord's Acre Plan' are given:

'1. It is a method best suited to the farmer and his way of life.

'2. It provides a training for all church members in stewardship.

'3. The plan yields spiritual results. A man tending his "Lord's Acre" is reminded that he is working on dedicated ground,—that he is working with and for the Lord. His thoughts will be such as make for the building of Christian character.' [2]

'The Lord's Acre Plan' is being tried in various parts of the East, especially in China, with success. As a rule, the Chinese congregation works together on the project instead of as individuals. The Methodist Church at Chiu Pai Hu, Luan County, Hopei Province, leased 10 *mow* (2 acres) for a year.

'The members of the church cultivated this land according to a schedule worked out by their pastor, Rev. Y. H. Yu. 4 *mow* of corn, 4 *mow* of *kaoling* and 2 *mow* of beans were raised. The crops were sold for $100. The expenses involved for rent and seed were $40. The church budget received the balance, $60, which paid the salary of the pastor for two months. After trying this for one year successfully, the members of this church bought a farm of 7½ *mow* (1½ acres) for $200 ($66 U.S. currency). They are not only cultivating it for their church but they are using it to grow better seeds for other farms in the parish. The pastor says of this project, "We have no trouble running this church farm. The members

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East*.

[2] Dumont Clarke, *The Country Church and the Lord's Acre Plan*. The Farmers' Federation, Asheville, No. Carolina.

work happily together and they also feel they are working happily with God." '[1]

A number of churches in Kiangsu Province, East China, have self-support projects similar to 'The Lord's Acre Plan.'

'The Disciples church at Ke Tang'chi', near Nanking, has 15 *mow* of land which helps the church budget. The Presbyterian church at Li Shu has 100 *mow* of upland, 14 *mow* of rice land and 2 cows. The Presbyterian church at Li Yang has 10 *mow* of land and 2 cows. The Tshtsing church has 3 *mow* of trees. The Weiting church has 4 *mow* of trees. The Presbyterian church at Shunhwachen has 3 *mow* of rice land, 24 *mow* of upland, 5 pigs, 1 cow and 16 *mow* of peach trees. These trees alone brought in $200 to the church budget—in the past summer. The men tended the orchard and the women canned and sold the peaches.'[2]

A most successful variation of 'The Lord's Acre Plan' is to raise and hire out animals belonging to the church, as illustrated by the Presbyterian church of Tungching.

'The farmers were badly in need of work animals. They had lost theirs by rinderpest, famine and debt. One water buffalo is ordinarily needed for each two farmers. The church has purchased or raised 10 water buffaloes which it loans out to the farmers of the community for a period of a year at a time. The farmer is glad to get this work animal and feeds and cares for it in return for its use. The farmers show great pride in giving these animals the best of care. At the end of the year the one who has cared best for his animal is given a reward of merit. These work animals raise a calf each year, which, when it is weaned, is returned to the church treasurer to be sold or loaned out again. If it is sold, it yields about $35·00 (Chinese currency). The receipts from these calves provide over half the yearly budget of the church. In many ways this plan is ideal for a Chinese rural church. The people need the work animals. No extra time is taken away from the farmer's fields. The income seems certain. . . . At least the plan is a success.'[3]

The rural churches in East China are using other church support projects such as silk-worm raising, fish raising, fruit orchards and village and home-crafts.

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East.*
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

In various parts of India 'The Lord's Acre Plan' has also been tried. Teachers at the Daska mission school (Church of Scotland) in Sialkot District, Punjab, raise vegetables on a portion of their garden plots and give the produce to the local church. A Christian landowner in another part of the Punjab has devoted the fruit of one of his orchards to his church. He has invited the poorer members of the congregation to prune the trees and pick the fruit as their share in the upkeep of the church.

Japanese churches are also successfully using this plan by which their members give labour for the Church.

'The Methodist church in Kawasaki, Shizuoka Prefecture, owns a small tea field. This was a gift to the church with the understanding that the income from it should be used in the social welfare programme of this church. The members cultivate and pick the tea leaves. The field yields about 100 yen worth of tea each year. The fertiliser costs about 20 yen and the taxes are 2 yen, leaving an income for the church of 78 yen from the tea crop. But also the church members raise a crop of beans and potatoes between the bushes. The members of the church take a great pride in caring for their tea farm and in using the proceeds from it for community welfare. Thus last year this money was used in conducting day-nurseries for small children during the rice planting season when both parents must work in the fields all day.' [1]

A Christian layman in Nagano Prefecture has followed a unique plan of assisting the church.

'Every time one of his children was baptised he planted a chestnut tree, with the understanding that the product of the trees should be given to the church. This man had a large family and his methods resulted in large contributions to the church.'[2]

Public-spirited Japanese frequently make a single substantial gift to a cause instead of an annual contribution.

'Mr Kimura, of Oide, Miyagi Prefecture, a rector in the Episcopal Church, had a friend in Manchuria who donated a 300-acre farm to the work in Mr Kimura's parish. Most of the land is untillable and is in timber. It is used for producing charcoal.

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East.* [2] *Ibid.*

Only 2½ acres are under cultivation. This farm is worth about 10,000 yen and provides the expenses of Mr Kimura. It is inconceivable that this friend would have contributed 500 yen a year for twenty years toward his salary. By means of this economic security provided by the church farm, Mr Kimura is able to carry on work here, where there were no Christians when he began. He now has a successful parish. There are 250 children in his Sunday school. He also conducts seasonal day-nurseries and has co-operated most successfully with the public school.'[1]

'Another young pastor, Mr Sone, went to a community where there were no Christians and where there was much opposition to the Church. Instead of his mission making him a grant each year, they invested a certain amount in him and in this future parish. They called it a five-year budget. It was to be used for the following items during the first five years:

Land	¥1,600
Equipment	300
Buildings	1,700
Day-nurseries	500
Living Expenses	3,900

"When I started here it was my policy," said Mr Sone, "that the work would be self-supporting; that is, after I had my original investment. I raise my living from this farm. I sell nothing, but use everything. I live on the rice, beans and cereals that I raise. A pastor does not need a lot of money or a lot of land." Mr Sone understands rural people and knows how to appeal to them, because he works with them instead of simply for them. . . . Mrs Sone is trained in midwifery and has won the friendship of many families by this work.'[2]

'A method of raising money for the church budget, suitable to Japan, is the processing of surplus agricultural products. This includes the canning of (surplus) fruit and vegetables, the making of grape juice or bean sauce, the baking of bread, the making of porridge out of grain, or the puffing of rice and wheat. This processing of agricultural products has two advantages over the other methods of "church labour." In the first place the farm products that are processed are often surplus and might otherwise be wasted. Then, too, they increase the variety of the diet of the Japanese farm family and thereby decrease the ills of malnutrition.

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East.* [2] *Ibid.*

'There are sub-industries well adapted to supplementing church support, such as weaving and sewing which can be operated in the homes of the church members or in a special room at or near the church. A definite amount of labour, either in time or in quantity, should be pledged by a member in advance in the same manner in which the cash pledge is made. In other words, the labour gift to the church, like the cash gifts, should not simply be a left-over, but should be previously pledged and planned at the beginning of the church year. Labour gifts are especially recommended among members with low cash incomes. Where young people give their labour to the church, it has been found most successful for it to be pledged and given by a group or a class instead of individually. A small committee of laymen, rather than the pastor, should be responsible for the labour gifts.' [1]

The practice of co-operatively working small church farms is increasing among the Christian communities of the Far East. It is more prevalent in Korea than elsewhere. This method must not be confused with the use of a farm as an endowment for the upkeep of the church. Endowments are a frequent source of difficulty for they may lead to inactivity and dependence on the part of church members. However, if the church farm is jointly tilled by the members it develops the spirit of co-operation and gives the poorest members a chance to do their share in church support. The church farm draws the people and their pastor closer to each other through working together on a common project. The church farm should experiment in agricultural methods and produce. The introduction of better grades of stock, improved seeds, new fruit trees and vegetables will be a demonstration of better methods and will help the community to a higher standard of living.[2]

The problem of how weak churches may secure the necessary funds for starting self-help projects has recently been tackled in China by the forming of the China Rural Church Revolving Fund. The aim of this organisation is

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East.*

[2] The rules for operating a church farm which are in use in 25 experimental rural churches in Central China are available on application to the Rural Church Department of Nanking Theological Seminary.

not only to assist rural churches in attaining self-support, but also to help improve agricultural practices in China. The organisation is composed of representatives from Nanking Theological Seminary, the College of Agriculture of the University of Nanking, and Ginling (Women's) College. Loans are made to churches on a strictly business basis, but at the low rate of interest of 5% per annum. The entire principal in the case of each loan must be paid within the specified period, from one to five years, according to the amount of the loan. The management of the fund is in the charge of the Secretary-Treasurer of the Nanking Theological Seminary.

It has become clear in every major mission field of the Orient that a basic reason for the financial weakness of the Churches is that church financiers have been thinking too exclusively in terms of cash as the necessary medium for its support. At this point, again, we are expecting David to fight in Saul's armour and are distressed because he has not given a better account of himself. The rural Christian of the Orient has a minimum of cash at his disposal and must be helped to find some other medium by which he can make his offering to the Church.

Fortunately this problem has been seriously faced among many of the Younger Churches by encouraging their members to give their farm produce as their offering to the Church. The beautiful new church in Masan, Korea, seats over a thousand people. It was built by the offerings in kind of a multitude of the very poor.

'At each meal as the mothers of that Church cooked the family rice they put aside a few spoonfuls in a small cloth sack. These sacks, with the members' names written on the outside, were handed in each Sunday morning when the church offering was taken. These spoonfuls of rice finally built one of the largest churches in Southern Korea. This plan would not be satisfactory in New York City, but it works exceedingly well in the mission field.' [1]

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[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East*.

In 1932 at the London Missionary Society's station of Kawimbe, Northern Rhodesia, we were privileged to witness the annual harvest offering of a church of 400 members. A large tarpaulin was spread before the altar, and upon this the church members poured their offerings of grain, as they filed past with baskets on their heads. At length a small mountain of winnowed grain stood in front of the congregation as their gift to the church. Baskets of fowls and ducks, cassava roots, potatoes and other produce lined the church vestibule, while pigs and a few young calves were assembled outside. Here was a medium of contribution, in terms of the economy of the community, in which every member could share.

In the new cathedral at Dornakal, India, we witnessed a similar offering in kind at the close of the two-day annual church festival of the Dornakal diocese. An auction sale of chickens, vegetables and other produce was held at which the cash equivalent of the value of the contributions was realised. In many African and Asiatic fields and in the Netherlands Indies this practice of making gifts in kind is popular among the rural churches.

The absence of banking facilities in most oriental rural communities and the uncertainty of the margin of farm income over farm expenditure make the harvest season the natural occasion for payment of accounts. A large part of the money of the community changes hands at this time and a part of the members' pledges to the church should be paid then with their secular accounts. The harvest gift should be pledged in advance, and the farmer should keep this pledge in mind when he sells his crops. When he has delivered the promised measures of wheat or rice to the church treasurer the member's pledge is fulfilled. The church has the responsibility of selling the produce and converting it into cash for the treasury. Many churches pay a part of their pastor's salary in staple produce, such as wheat or rice, which he needs for his family, and it is credited to the church at the market price in lieu of salary. Because a farmer cannot forecast the yield of his crops or the prices they will bring he is apt to be most

cautious in pledging money in advance to the Church. This difficulty is met if he sets aside a fraction of a crop or the yield of a definite piece of land as his gift.

There are many weeks of comparative leisure in the oriental farm year when members should be encouraged to devote themselves to work for their church. The proceeds of home-crafts such as weaving, sewing and canning and the repair of the church building or the improvement of its equipment and surroundings could be offered by members during these unused periods of leisure.

The annual membership canvass is a plan for raising the church budget which is being successfully used by many rural congregations. Pledges under this plan should not take the place of the usual weekly cash donations, but should be in addition to them. The scope of the pledge should be so wide and varied in its type of offerings as to make it possible for the wife and children to make their pledges as well as the head of the family. A pledge card used by certain Korean and Chinese churches which provides for many methods of giving has been furnished by Felton.

Pledge Card

Acknowledging God's gifts to me, and His claim upon me and upon my time, I hereby pledge to my Church:

Weekly Cash Gifts: $———per week, to be paid if possible at the time of the regular church service.

Harvest Gifts: $———to be paid in cash or produce at harvest time.

Labour Gifts: ———days of labour. This labour is to be on my farm, or on the church farm, or in some village craft, the income from which is to go to my Church.

Crops: ———This crop on my farm, or on the church farm, raised from my seed or from seed furnished me by the Church, I agree to tend faithfully and give the proceeds to my Church.

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[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East.*

Animals: ———These animals, belonging to me or to the Church, I agree to feed and care for and give the proceeds to the Church.

Home-Crafts: ———These articles I agree to make and to give the proceeds to the Church.

Signed———————

'In addition to the pledged gifts there may be special thanksgiving offerings on Harvest Sunday, at the times of weddings or birthdays or on recovery from sickness. The weekly cash offering brought to the church each Sunday by a member should be credited towards that member's cash pledges. If on his pledge card he agrees to give 10 cents a week, when he brings that 10 cents, he must be credited with that amount. His weekly offering will be much larger if he knows it is to be credited towards his original pledge. The use of envelopes for this weekly offering is too expensive for rural churches in the Orient. . . . Many churches are finding small cloth sacks the most suitable containers for the Sunday offering. They may be used many times. These sacks hang on hooks on a rack near the door. Each sack contains the name or number of a person who has made a weekly cash pledge. As he enters the church he gets his sack and when the offering is taken he drops his sack with his offering in it on the plate.' [1]

The hazard of using farm produce as the main source of church support might be met in part by members undertaking to raise animals, the proceeds of whose sale or rental would help to tide the church finances over the period of harvest failure. The keeping of a variety of small stock, such as pigs, goats, sheep, fowls, ducks or silk-worms, would insure a fairly certain, if not a large, income. The stock may be protected from disease by the use of vaccines and improved breeds could gradually be introduced.

There are many opinions on the question of the self-supporting pastor. The pastor who tries to conduct a private business or who has an ordinary farm on his hands, in addition to his pastoral responsibilities, is in danger of making a failure of both his material and spiritual work.

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East.*

'A minister near Peiping started a dairy to supplement his income. He soon gave most of his time to his dairy, or at least his people claimed that he did. They objected. He resigned his pastorate and is now running his dairy. Another pastor in North China made a similar mistake. He had some knowledge of Chinese medicine and began practising medicine to supplement his income. He used the church building for his office and clinic. He no doubt accomplished much good. His practice increased so much that he neglected his church. His members objected. He promised them then that he would preach without any salary, getting all his income from his medicine. This idea of getting something for nothing appealed to them at first, but later they asked for his resignation.' [1]

To run a farm successfully in the Orient requires the entire time of an able-bodied man, frequently assisted by his whole family. Even under these conditions, as we have seen, the farm too often presents the owner with a deficit at the end of the year. A pastor who ministers adequately to a church and parish cannot be expected to succeed as a professional farmer. On the other hand, it is clear that the pastor's preaching must be related to the interests and occupations of his rural church members. A pastor must actively share in some aspects of the economic struggle of his people, if he is to be accepted as one of them and is to relate the Gospel of Christ to their experience and their world. Rural pastors in many lands would agree with Mr Motomiya, minister of a Presbyterian church in Northern Japan, when he says:

'There are 300 homes in my village and in every one of them it is a problem what they are going to have to eat the next day. . . . Our church is the centre where people meet to discuss ways and means of making a living.' [2]

Such a situation calls for the ministry of a man who not only can impart Biblical history, exegesis, and theology to his people but who can join them in their struggle with the environment and can lead them in practical efforts to better it. Felton suggests three main sources for the budget of the self-supporting rural church in the Far East.

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East.* [2] *Ibid.*

First, regular cash pledges which should increase with the growth of the membership; second, labour gifts of church members, including produce or animals raised for the church; third, the labour of the pastor on his own small farm, garden or orchard, or from raising small livestock or from handicrafts. The pastor's labour would not be a separate occupation with a private income unknown to the church members, for he would work in common with his people. He could introduce improved animals, seed and home industries and could assist in solving the economic problems of the community. An organised plan of this kind is needed for any rural parish that is seriously facing the question of self-support.

The visit of the late Dr Kenyon L. Butterfield to Japan in 1931 aroused among the churches a lively interest in the Rural Community Parish. Several such parishes of much promise have been started in various parts of Japan which will repay careful study. We will describe only two because of the unusual self-support methods which they are demonstrating. Six years ago Dr E. M. Clark of the Union Presbyterian Theological Seminary of Kobe founded the community parish at Tomiai village in the midst of a rural area of 100,000 farms and a population of half a million. The Presbyterian Mission had worked for seventy years in the great port city of Kobe, close by, but had never entered this rural area. Dr Clark asked his mission to try a new policy of self-support in the rural parish, since, in the absence of mission funds, this was the only possible basis on which the field could be entered. Under the plan, 6,000 yen was given by the mission in advance, a sum equal to one half the salary of the pastor for a period of ten years. This money was invested in 2½ acres of land, in the building of a combination church and parsonage, a barn and workshop, implements and stock, fruit trees and seed. The pastor was to operate the farm and carry on religious and social work in the community. His support would come from his farm, his church members and from the mission,—with the expectation that as the orchards and stock developed, and the church membership grew, these sources of support would increase and mission subsidy decrease. At the end of ten

years the project would be brought to full self-support and an independent church would be born instead of a church indefinitely dependent upon the mission.

The pastor, Rev. J. Horii, won his first foothold in the village through a day-nursery for the children of the farmers. This was followed by a Sunday school. Two farm families whose friendship was secured in this way became the nucleus of the church. There are now four complete farm families in the church and 76 persons have been baptised. The pastor began systematically to call on the families in his parish. Sunday schools and Bible classes were opened in five other villages in which he now regularly preaches. The first opposition has subsided, and non-Christians attend the church services. Mr Horii also conducts farmers' institutes with courses on agricultural improvement. He provides public health lectures and arranges for clinic services. In 1936 the church raised 1,200 yen to build a small infirmary where sick farmers could be cared for.

The church land is planted to grapes, peaches and vegetables. The project owns four hogs, a large poultry run and many Angora rabbits. The fur is spun in the church workshop and sold at a profit. A thriving business has been started in the bottling of grape juice. An increasing number of his members work with the pastor on these self-support projects. The farm income is not yet large, since the fruit trees are still young. In the first six years parish church gifts have totalled 2,163·63 yen; profits from the farm and industrial work have netted 1,307 yen, and the mission has supplied 1,168 yen.[1] Church and farm support have increased 300% and mission subsidy has steadily decreased. There is every prospect of the rural parish project becoming entirely independent within the four remaining years of the experimental period.

The mission plans to establish ten rural community parishes in this field. Two more parishes have already been opened with carefully trained men in charge. One of these projects was started in the summer of 1936 in a village 17 miles from Kobe. 6,000 yen was invested by the mission in a small,

[1] 1 yen is the equivalent of 1s. 2½d. sterling or 29 cents U.S.

modern dairy which supplies a milk route in the city of Kobe. A modern barn, creamery and separator were set up and three Jersey cows bought. Twelve other cows owned by villagers are stabled and fed here and the milk is sold in Kobe. The dairy under the management of a Japanese graduate of the Hawaii Agricultural College is making a 20% profit on the investment. The earnings pay the salaries of the local evangelists (students from the Presbyterian Theological Seminary) and are also reducing the original loan. This strongly anti-Christian village had its prejudice removed by the opening of the dairy, and now a Sunday school and regular preaching is carried on in the village. These projects well illustrate the close relation that may be sustained between a Theological School that trains its men in practical rural parish methods and the extension of the church to rural areas which have hitherto been closed to the Church because of insufficient funds and a lack of trained men.

The source of the extraordinary record in self-support of the Batak Church of Sumatra, Netherlands Indies, is found in the policy of the Rhenish Mission which, early in its contact with the people, assumed that the Batak Christians could support their pastors and build their own churches. This policy has been followed during the seventy years of the life of the Batak Church. It has been reinforced by a strict church discipline, an efficient church administration in which lay leaders take the responsibility for church finances, and a healthy Christian public opinion.

The salary of the teacher-pastor of the independent Batak churches is paid partly by Government and partly in tinfuls of rice, from each household, as specified by the church council. The local church also gives its pastor a garden plot or rice field by which he may supplement his income. Three-fourths of the contributions of a local Batak church go to the upkeep of its own work and one-fourth to the general church funds. These funds are raised in various ways. The head of each household gives a fixed contribution of 1 *guilder* a year to the upkeep of the local church. Salaried men are levied 10% of one month's income. The Batak Church encourages

the observance of the great festivals of the Church, and also the birth of children and the birthdays and marriages of members, as occasions for special thanksgiving. In these ways the sanction of the Church reinforces hereditary custom by making the family celebrations occasions for expressing gratitude. Such gifts aggregate far more during the year than the fixed contributions to the church. The women bring their own special gifts and the children have little boxes in which they save towards their offerings. A large part of the contributions are made in rice and other produce, which is sold by auction at market prices. An average of 90% of Batak church members give the prescribed amount.

Spiritual, moral and social pressure is brought to bear upon all members of the congregation. If a member is six months in arrears in payment of his church pledge his name is posted in the vestibule of the church, or read from the pulpit. If a whole year passes without payment, the church may refuse its services for baptisms or marriages in the family of the defaulting member until the obligation is met. It is the task of the presbyter or deacon to keep a careful record of payments of church pledges and church attendance. He calls regularly upon the families which are assigned to him and encourages or criticises them in matters of church giving or attendance, as the case may be. The presbyters are jointly responsible for the church finance. The head presbyter records the weekly gifts and four of his colleagues, with him, sign the official records.

The Batak Church uses a unique method of financing the building operations of educational, medical and other church institutions through the issuing of bonds to the Christian community. In 1937 an extension of a large mission hospital at Balige was projected at an estimated cost of 80,000 *guilders*.[1] The Government granted three-fourths of this amount and the Batak Church floated a bond issue to secure the remaining 20,000 *guilders*. Families and local churches bought 25, 50 and 100 *guilder* bonds on which a stated interest was paid. These bonds are retired yearly from the income of the church

[1] £9,500 sterling or $48,000 U.S.

hospitals. An item for interest payment and amortisation is written into the budgets of these institutions. In addition to this source of income a small building tax is levied by the Church upon Christian property owners of the district. This tax may be paid in the form of boards or bricks or a load of sand, or by a few hours' labour, and is based upon the customary law or *adat* of the people. By such means it is hoped that the institutional work of the Batak Church will go forward despite the fact that all financial help from the Rhenish Mission has ceased. The larger congregations of Bätak Christians lend funds to weaker churches for building or other projects. This financial solidarity and strength, exhibited by a community having extremely small economic resources, is made possible by the high percentage of membership participation in the financial undertakings of the Church and the excellent organisation which administers them.

In many fields the Seventh Day Adventist Church has organised its church support in a remarkable way round the principle of sacrificial giving. Through this principle they have achieved a higher degree of *per capita* membership giving than any other large denomination. It will be of interest to examine briefly the self-support methods of this Church.

'The Harvest Ingathering' is a six-weeks period during which every church member gives all his spare time to selling the literature of the denomination. All profits from sales go to the central fund of the Church. A minimum of at least ten hours' service is expected of every member. Each church continues to work until its goal of sales is reached. One week each year is set aside as 'The Week of Sacrifice.' Each member is asked to dedicate his entire weekly income, whatever the amount, to the church at this time. During what is known as 'Big Week,' special efforts are made by the colporteurs of the denomination, and the profits from the largest day's sale are devoted to the general treasury. Sacrifice is emphasised in the programme of each local church. Sunday schools in every country are provided with a five-minute missionary programme for every week in the year, consisting of stories of missionary experience, letters from different fields and special missionary

hymns and prayers. These programmes are translated into the languages of all churches of this denomination in every field.

In view of this continuous emphasis upon sacrificial giving it is not surprising to learn that tithing is practised by the Seventh Day Adventist Church throughout the world. Its importance is constantly stressed in Sunday school and church services and in the literature of the denomination. Felton estimates that four-fifths of the total membership of this denomination in China are 'tithers.' The various methods used have resulted in an average gift per member in the Seventh Day Adventist Church of about three times that of any other communion. Their average annual gift per member throughout the world is $20·00 (U.S. currency).[1] This remarkable record is born of the teaching that not only the person but the possessions of the Christian belong to God and must be freely given to Him. The Seventh Day Adventists have discovered that the call to sacrificial giving, when attended by definite means of expression and an efficient organisation, can enable oriental churches not only to be self-supporting, but, in their turn, to be missionary churches. There is reason to believe that a similar intensive and educational emphasis on the part of other churches would yield similar results.

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East*.

CHAPTER VIII

Lay Leadership

IN Chapter VII we have spoken of the necessity of adjusting the economic load of the Church to the supporting power of the community. Lay leadership provides a useful example of the third method, i.e. lightening the load which the structure must carry. In every field of the Younger Churches we find Christian communities struggling to evolve a system of church administration commensurate with their economic strength.

We have seen that the economy of the vast majority of Asiatic Christians is near the minimum level upon which they can exist; that to introduce a new enterprise, whose support is an added load upon the closely balanced budgets of the rural community, is looked upon as an economic disaster; that it is too much to expect a village to assimilate a pastor's household which does not make its living within the traditional economy but must be supported by the other households that are barely subsisting themselves. Under these conditions the western plan of providing one pastor for one congregation breaks down. The rapid growth of the Christian community in various fields through mass movements and the wide scattering of Christians through the country-side are further factors which compel the rural church to find a plan of administration and ministry that will meet the needs of the rural congregation with a minimum of expense.

In most fields the Church has organised its scattered membership into parishes or circuits under the supervision of a trained minister, assisted by catechists or evangelists. As a rule these assistants are not ordained ministers. They teach, preach and render pastoral service but do not administer the sacraments. The minister in charge may have ten or even thirty such churches for which he is responsible.

This system lays a heavy burden upon the minister with a large district. Under the most favourable circumstances he can only visit individual congregations once a month. In some fields from three to six months pass before a small church receives the stimulus and services of its minister. Even the catechist or evangelist with six to eight congregations to look after can spend but a limited amount of time with each group of Christians in his circuit. With the rapid growth of the Church, the problem of adequately nurturing new Christians is becoming ever more acute.

If the Church is to conserve its increasing membership in rural fields it must reorganise its forces with the help of the unpaid church worker. The organised use of laymen in the Batak Church of Sumatra has greatly assisted in the remarkable development of its 1,000 churches and 400,000 members. The Batak Church was founded seventy years ago by the German Rhenish Missionary Society. It has had a notable record, for it very early attained financial independence and large mass movements took place in which whole villages and districts sought baptism. A system of church leadership was devised which was inexpensive enough to be supported by the people, and yet would provide for the instruction of the many pagan Bataks who crowded to the churches. The problem has since been further complicated by the withdrawal of more than half of the evangelistic missionaries from the field. To-day, only twenty-five district missionaries are working with this great Church of 400,000 members.

In 1930 the Batak Church was constituted as an independent body. The occupied area is about 250 miles in length and 75 miles in width, and comprises 40,000 sq. kilometers. There are 1,200,000 Bataks living in this region, 35% of whom are Christians. In large districts the entire population is Christian; but close beside them live dense pagan populations, which are now an object of evangelism by the Bataks themselves. The administration of this large field with its exacting demands has required statesmanship, courage and organising ability of the first order.

Batakland is divided into five church administrative

districts, each with five or six sub-districts. The one thousand churches are staffed by 65 ordained ministers, 1,300 teacher-preachers and 7,500 lay presbyters. Twenty-five German missionaries supervise the work. Each of the five field districts is in charge of an experienced missionary superintendent who directs the work of four or five missionary colleagues, who in turn are in charge of the subdistricts. Each of these men is responsible for the work of six or seven ordained Batak ministers, who care for the spiritual needs of twelve or fifteen congregations. The congregations, each of which average about 400 members, are served by teacher-preachers. These men not only teach in the community schools but also preach and have the pastoral care of the congregation. They have all had four years of special study in the central training school of the church. The teacher-preacher is assisted in his pastoral work by laymen, called presbyters, each responsible for the welfare and discipline of twenty-five families.

At the apex of the pyramid-like organisation is the Federal Council of the Great Synod of the Church, composed of 7 Batak and 3 German members. Its function is that of an *ad interim* committee and it has the financial responsibility of the Church. The chairman of the Council is the superintendent or *ephorus* of the Mission. The Great Synod meets once a year; its members are elected by the District Synods on the basis of one to every 7,000 communicants of the Church.

The missionary is responsible for the condition of the churches in his district; he visits them regularly and submits an annual report on their progress to the Federal Council. He holds regular training classes, Bible institutes and retreats for the teacher-preachers and lay leaders of his district.

The ordained minister of the Batak Church is not in charge of one congregation. He is constantly itinerating among his twelve or fifteen churches, administering the sacraments and training his teacher-preachers and presbyters. Even the large town churches do not as a rule demand the whole time of a settled minister, but share his services with the rural churches of his circuit. These city churches are

also ministered to, however, by able teacher-preachers, assisted by the lay presbyters.

The teacher-preacher is the centre around which the cultural and spiritual life of the community revolves. He is vested with the dual authority of the Great Synod of the Church and the Department of Education of the Government. He carries out the orders that come from these two sources and thereby wields an unusual influence. In a large community he is assisted by one or more paid assistants. He devotes himself to his school from seven to one o'clock six days a week and two evenings a week he teaches confirmation classes; on two afternoons he trains his presbyters in preaching and methods of parish work; on another afternoon he again meets his presbyters to receive reports and discuss with them their problems in parish work; on three evenings a week he visits the sick and the neediest families. He spends one hour a week with the young men's group, one hour with the teachers of the Sunday school and one afternoon each week he trains the church choir. On Sundays he preaches and supervises the Sunday school in the morning and in the afternoon he attends the young people's meeting and leads the Bible study and singing.

The teacher-preacher is given a house by the congregation, together with a rice field or garden which is worked by the members of his family. He is paid jointly by the Government and the congregation. The Government pays from 10 to 30 *guilders* a month, according to length of service, and the congregation pays him in kind.

The work of the teacher-preacher would probably break down without the substantial help of the lay-presbyter, who forms the fifth link in the chain of the Batak Church organisation. These laymen are appointed on the basis of one presbyter to twenty-five families in the congregation. Their service is voluntary but they are exempt from public road work which is required of all tax-payers in the community. Laymen are chosen for their standing in the church, their character, intelligence and practical experience. The presbyter visits the sick, reports all cases of serious illness to the

nearest hospital, advises the families in matters of health and other personal difficulties and arranges for burials. He substitutes for the teacher-preacher in case of illness, keeps a record of church attendance, calls on all delinquents and encourages them to attend, keeps an account of the contributions of the families in his charge, and impresses them with the importance of regular giving, takes up the church collections and keeps order during the services. These men have their fingers on the spiritual and physical pulse of the Christian community and carry the brunt of the routine of parish work. The presbyter also helps his teacher-preacher and supervising minister in special evangelistic efforts for neighbouring non-Christian communities.

The Batak system of training for church leadership has certain unique features. The candidate for teacher-preacher must have completed five years in a primary school before entering the church training school. At the end of two years of normal study he may take the Government examination for a teacher's certificate. Two years of further study prepare him for preaching and pastoral work—a four years' training in all. A vital part of the whole plan of church leadership is that after ten years of practical field experience the best men return to the training school for two more years of divinity training and thereby qualify for ordination. By this plan the ablest and most successful teacher-preachers assume leadership in the Church. The central training school has an enrolment of 100 students, with an entering class of 25 or 30 annually. The best students are selected from the various districts on the basis of a two-day examination. Only 10% of the candidates are chosen.

The cost of the first two years of a teacher's training is borne by the Government. The cost of the subsequent years of pastoral and theological training is met by the family of the student. Only in exceptional cases is assistance given by the Central Church Fund. In this way the church training school, apart from the stipends of the two missionary teachers, is a self-supporting enterprise.

To meet the growing demand by the city congregations

for better educated ministers, the most promising theological students are now being sent for advanced training to the Theological College of the Netherlands Missionary Societies in Batavia, Java. Seven Batak young men are now taking this course. They will form a new type of pastor with training on a college level but without the practical field experience described above.

A modification of the lay leadership plan of the Batak Church is used by the Rhenish Mission in its work on the island of Nias, off the north-west coast of Sumatra. This Church has 100,000 members and uses a somewhat similar organisation to that in Batakland, but the people are much poorer. There are not enough teacher-preachers for all the little churches and the people cannot provide salaries for many pastors. This situation has been met by using *sinenge*, or part-time teachers, who also preach to the small congregations. The *sinenge* are laymen chosen by the Nias Church Council and are given six months' training. Every second year they receive two months' additional training. They do not administer the sacraments but they bury the dead and perform many pastoral duties. They give about half their time to the church and school, for two to three *guilders* a month, but also work at their regular occupations. By this means the Nias Church is completely self-supporting. These *sinenge* have actually built up the life of the Church. The nurture of great numbers of Christians who came into the Church in a long term revival twenty years ago, in which the membership increased from 30,000 to 100,000, would not have been possible without this lay leadership. A large majority of the converts of this mass movement in Nias have held true to their faith, and revivals spring up from time to time which can largely be attributed to the work of the *sinenge*.

The training of lay Christians for church service through vacation institutes and Bible Schools is in use in many of the fields of the Younger Churches. Felton, in his *Rural Church in the Far East*, says:

'One of the unique contributions that the Church in Japan has made has been the Rural Gospel School. Young farmers have

been brought together and have been given short courses in agriculture, sociology and economics, and in the fundamentals of the Christian religion. The students live together and have many helpful personal contacts with their teachers. They go back to their villages to be better farmers and better Christians.

'This is a new type of training of lay leaders that might well be tried in other countries. It has united the practical knowledge of farming with applied Christianity.

'An obstacle to the progress of these schools is the fact that the Government is copying their methods and is conducting many similar institutes. 70% of the curriculum of the average school deals with Christian principles and applied Christianity, and 30% deals with agriculture, economics and sociology.' [1]

The Churches in Korea have made great advances through the use of the unpaid lay worker, and his services have brought financial independence within the reach of the Korean Church. The financial load of the Church structure has been greatly lightened by this method.

Felton made a detailed study in 1937 of 112 preachers in the Methodist Episcopal Church of Korea. 26 of these men were fully ordained, 26 were 'supplies,' or unordained pastors, and 60 were lay preachers. He says:

'The lay preachers work without salary, getting their living from their weekday occupations, which, in the group studied, were as follows:

Farmers	34
Shopkeepers	11
Unoccupied	6
Teachers	4
Doctors	1
Merchants	1
Factory workers	1
Barbers	1
Clerks	1
TOTAL	60

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East.*

The "supplies" originally followed similar occupations. They have about the same educational equipment as the lay preachers. About 10% of both groups studied at the Theological Seminary for a period of two years. One-third of the "supplies" had previously been unpaid lay preachers. They had been appointed to take charge of circuits because there were not enough trained men for the task. Instead of enlarging the circuits and using more unpaid lay preachers to assist the trained ministers the missionaries appointed lay preachers to full-time work and called them "supplies." If these "supplies" had not been given full-time work, but had been left in their usual daily occupations, they would have rendered almost as great a service to the Church as the unpaid lay preachers. The average lay preacher conducted 7·2 preaching services a month, with a total attendance of 439, while the average salaried "supply" conducted 13·8 services, with a total of 545 people attending. The average attendance at the services conducted by the lay preachers was 62, while only an average of 41 people were present at services led by "supplies."'[1]

Felton explains the weakness of the 'supply' system. The trained minister resents giving untrained men responsibility over a circuit equal to his own. College graduates hesitate to enter the ministry when they see so many uneducated men put in charge of churches. High School graduates are not attracted by preachers who have not been through a high school themselves. Educational standards both of the minister and church members are lowered and the morale of the unpaid lay preacher is impaired by the use of 'supplies.'

'The use of "supplies" is lowering the educational standards of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Korea and is gradually driving out both the educated men from the ministry and the unpaid lay preacher. . . . It is entirely out of the question for the rural pastors of the Orient to have only one church each. We must follow the circuit system, and large circuits at that. To do this, we must make full use of lay preachers. They will make it possible for the trained pastor in the Orient to have a circuit of from five to ten churches. This would increase the pastor's salary and allow the mission money to be used for opening new circuits and building

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[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East.*

new churches and would allow each pastor to push his work out into the nearby villages.' [1]

The multiplying power for service and evangelism that is secured through the use of lay preachers is shown in the record of two Korean church circuits studied by Felton. In the month of October, 1937, in the Kyung-Chun circuit thirty-five services were conducted by the twelve lay preachers of that circuit. The following is the record of services held :

'The Kyung-Chun church had fifteen services, seven of which were conducted by five different lay preachers ; the Kyuroe church had fifteen, fourteen of which were conducted by six lay preachers ; Roesung had fifteen services, fourteen of which were conducted by six different lay preachers. Of the forty-five services held in October, 1937, on this circuit ten were led by the pastor and thirty-five were conducted by unpaid lay preachers.' [2]

Rev. H. C. Lee of the Ronsan circuit used fifteen lay preachers to help him with the five churches of his circuit during October, 1937. These fifteen helpers led twenty-two services during the month and the pastor led eleven. In this way the scope of the ministry of the circuit was trebled. Felton says :

'If every pastor in Korea and in the entire Far East would use a similar plan the unchurched areas would soon be evangelised.' [3]

1,234 of the 1,931 townships of Korea have one or more churches established in them. This wide extension of the Church to two-thirds of the townships of Korea has been effected through the use of the unpaid lay preacher. It is a plan that is, in one form or another, applicable to the whole field of the Younger Churches.

The rapid growth of the self-supporting Church of Korea may be traced directly to the use of Bible training classes and institutes. Under this system not only have scores of thousands of Korean Christians become thoroughly acquainted with Biblical literature and truth but very great numbers of

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East.*
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

laymen and lay women have been trained in church work and evangelism. The organisation of these Bible Institutes deserves a chapter by itself but can only be considered here in its relation to lay leadership. Dr C. A. Clark says:

'There are first of all classes for men and separate ones for women in practically every church in the country once and possibly twice a year. . . . In 1909 Chairung District reported 262 of these classes, with a total of 13,680 enrolled. Pyengyang district had 292 classes with an enrolment of 13,976. . . . In that year the Presbyterian Church of Korea held 800 of these weekly training classes, with a total enrolment of 50,000 men and women. . . . These classes became power houses which generate spiritual electricity which goes through the whole Church. . . .

'Next, there are the "station mass classes" where all the people of a province gather. These are the classes that have had as high as 1,800 enrolled. In January, 1928, there was a men's class with 1,300 enrolled and a few days later one for women with 800. In 1932, 2,200 women met in a class in Pyengyang.

'Above these provincial classes are the officers' and workers' classes. . . . Invitations are sent out each year to every woman in the 414 country churches of the Pyengyang Province who is competent to teach a class. They come for the first two weeks in October and study from printed syllabi, the same that they will use in teaching in the country. At the end of the class they are assigned one, two or more classes in the country to teach. . . .

'In 1921 there were twenty-seven such Institutes in the Presbyterian mission stations, with an enrolment of 1,989 laymen and women as students. . . .

'Next in order come the Bible Institutes. The men have a course lasting six weeks each year and running six years; the women study ten weeks each year and graduate in five years. Each Institute has a post-graduate course of one month each year. In Seoul and Pyengyang there are Institute courses for men of nine months a year for three years.' [1]

All the missionaries and pastors take part in this systematic training of laymen and women, but a large share of the work

[1] C. A. Clark, *The Nevius Plan for Mission Work.* Christian Literature Society, Seoul, Korea.

is done by volunteer workers and lay leaders who lay aside their business to teach the classes.

The cost of this training system is met by the people who attend the classes and by the country churches whom they represent. Each person pays for his own travel and board and a small matriculation fee. The local churches try to provide sleeping space, while the people from a distance bring their rice and cook their own meals. This system, now in use for over thirty years, has provided an army of laymen and women with a sound knowledge of the Scriptures, trained to teach them to others and skilled in the methods of church work and evangelism.

Felton in his chapter on lay preachers in *The Rural Church in the Far East*, vividly describes the relation of the lay preacher to the growth of the Methodist Church throughout the world. He considers this plan to be the key to the expansion of this great denomination and the principle underlying it to be the only solution of the problem of the nurture and extension of the Church in the non-Christian lands. His comments upon the relation of the lay preacher to the growth of village churches in China are illuminating :

'A study of the location of 1,669 churches in the provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Anhwei, made by the Rural Department of Nanking Theological Seminary in 1937, shows that 857 churches are located in villages, 578 in market towns and 234 in small cities. (The large cities of this area were omitted in the study.) The location of the churches in relation to the total population is as follows :

	Location of total population in 3 rural provinces.	*Location of churches in 3 rural provinces.*
Villages . . .	79%	51%
Market Towns .	11 ,,	35 ,,
Small Cities . .	10 ,,	14 ,,

The reason for the small percentage of churches in the villages is that the first generation of missionaries tried to occupy as wide an area as possible. To do this they located their first churches in the

market towns and small cities. The villages were almost left alone. The practice seems to have been to expect the Church to grow from the inside out,—from market town to village. In Korea the opposite policy was followed. The Korean Church has always been primarily a village Church. By planting a church in a Korean village its influence early became great. A large proportion of the village people were won to the Church and soon became a dominating force. Village people are more interested in the Church than town or city people. In the market towns the population is much less stable. Village people have their roots in their villages.' [1]

Felton's study of Church life in the various oriental countries leads him to the conclusion that in so far as the Church becomes a village institution it is more influential in the life of the people and also has a more rapid growth than in the towns and cities.

In the study of the three provinces referred to above, it is important to note the policy of leadership employed by those denominations which have the highest percentage of rural churches. Heading the list of fourteen denominations is the Methodist Missionary Society of Great Britain with 92% of its churches located in villages. In the Wenchow District of Chekiang Province, this church has 3 missionaries, 8 ordained ministers, 25 catechists and 228 unpaid lay preachers. The field staff of this denomination for all of their work in China is,—missionaries 50, ordained Chinese pastors 70, catechists 226 and unpaid lay preachers 1,000. The Church Missionary Society with 70% of its churches in the villages makes large use of catechists and lay readers. The lay reader is unpaid and corresponds to the unpaid lay preacher of the Methodist Church. The outstanding record of these British missionary societies in village work in China is undoubtedly attributable to their use of unpaid lay workers.

Felton says:

'It is probably safe to say that three out of four rural churches in China started as branches of other village or town churches. . . . Members open their homes for the visiting evengelists or conduct

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East.*

prayer services for their neighbours. Probably one-third of the rural churches began in homes and one-half in small rented buildings. . . . Evangelism is the greatest concern of the average pastor. Many pastors preach as many sermons in homes as in church buildings, and as many evangelistic sermons at fairs, on the streets or on market days, as they do in their own church. The better pastors have as many unorganised preaching places and unorganised congregations as they have organised churches. These they care for with the help of the lay preachers.' [1]

This widespread extension work and the regular care of so many groups of believers and inquirers is only made possible through the staff of lay preachers supplementing the work of the pastors and catechists.

There is a growing conviction among many leaders in China that less expensive ministers must be provided for the rural districts. One missionary states his views on rural church leadership as follows: 'I have felt more and more convinced that something will have to be done to secure leadership for the rural Church with less expense. We have discouraged the churches by sending them pastors towards whose support they could only pay one-quarter or one-half.'

Several mission groups in China are trying to break away from the old financial system and are experimenting with radical methods. One mission representative in East China said: 'We are in transition from a property-centred programme to a village-centred, home-centred, lay-leadership, evangelistic programme. Formerly, thousands of dollars were spent in buying expensive courtyards in county seats and market towns. Two or three paid evangelists were located in each place to build up a church, centred around the property, each with its own primary school. Several thousand people joined these churches mainly in the hope of getting some advantage from the money being spent for evangelistic work. For the past ten years we have been in the process of liquidating this extensive work. A hundred preaching places have been closed, a hundred and fifty or more evangelists have been dismissed and a considerable portion of the property has been sold.

[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East*.

Primary schools have been discontinued. Homes and chapel centres are still available to our evangelists, but they are being urged to go to the villages, conduct home worship and build up little village fellowships, which from the beginning will be self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating.'

The great advantage of this extensive plan of going into the villages, as contrasted with the intensive plan of developing the market town centre, is that it can use the unpaid layman who is constantly on the ground,—a man who knows his community and its problems and who can supplement the occasional visits of the district minister or paid evangelist.

The Chinese Church is also paying increased attention to the training and spiritual nurture of its rural laymen. A missionary of the American Board in North China, who used to devote most of his time to general supervision and preaching, during the past five years has been developing rural Bible Training Institutes for the education and training in church leadership of farmer laymen. Institutes are planned for the slack seasons in the farm calendar, particularly in the winter when the North China farm is ice-bound.

The lay leader training work of the Bo Hie Dong parish in Fukien Province, China, has had far-reaching results. The pastor, D. C. Uong, began with a training class for young men. He imbued them with the ideal of making their community a better place in which to live and they formed a Rural Improvement Society. Out of this has grown a health programme, which, with the active help of a local doctor and a nurse from the mission station, and through a church clinic and a system of family physical examinations and public lectures, is changing the health habits of the rural community of 20,000 people. From this point, the pastor began to train his young men in evangelistic methods. A week of special evangelistic meetings is held each year. Members are trained to go out every morning to witness and preach in the nearby villages. In the afternoon a women's Bible class and special meetings for children are held. Public evangelistic services are conducted in the evenings.

The special feature of the lay training work of this parish

is the all-year evangelistic programme of preaching bands. The young men go out each Wednesday evening and Sunday afternoon to the villages and hold meetings in the street or in friendly homes. The bands have devised a light travelling pulpit, on which a continuous roll of Bible pictures and charts can be displayed during the sermon by turning a hand crank. The pictures appear in a frame in the front of the pulpit and illustrate the lesson the speaker is teaching the people. Four evangelistic centres in the district have been established through the work of these bands and three additional centres were on the point of being opened in the summer of 1937. Felton says:

'As the interest of a certain group increases a small constituency is developed. A room in one of the homes is set apart regularly for the weekly service and a preaching table and hymn chart are kept there for permanent use. The Church in Korea has grown largely by a somewhat similar use of evangelistic bands. Probably no other plan would be of such great help to the extension of the Gospel throughout the Orient as similar bands in every country.' [1]

By this plan the influence of a church is greatly increased. The pastor's power is multiplied many times. The spiritual life of the church is permanently quickened. The church members are trained in winning others to Christ, and new churches are gradually established. The evangelistic bands pay their own expenses and the financial cost to the church is negligible.

'One of the most significant movements in China to-day is the development of better training of lay workers, Christians who support themselves by regular occupations, but who give time to voluntary service to the church. They are especially necessary in a country where the Church is still very young and where it is impossible for every Christian group to have a resident pastor. These lay workers must be of a standard above that of the average church member and must have some special training if they are to render effective service and give leadership.

'For five winters Nanking Theological Seminary has conducted

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[1] R. Felton, *The Rural Church in the Far East.*

an experiment in short-term institute training for lay workers. This is held for one week immediately following the New Year and is open to rural Christians with some experience who are able to read the New Testament. The institute is called the Rural Gospel School. . . . The Christians who attend the school pay for their own travel and one dollar for food during the week. The school is held at the Rural Centre of Nanking Seminary at Shunwhachen, fifteen miles from Nanking city. All take part in the communal life of the Centre and share in worship, study, labour and fellowship.

'The curriculum includes Bible study, practical methods in the work of the Church, singing, methods of community service, discussion of agricultural problems, co-operatives, the leading of worship, etc. In all the teaching emphasis is placed upon materials and methods which the lay worker can use later in his own church. Members of the school render some service each day in the community. Villages are visited, testimonies given in small meetings and lay workers trained in simple forms of preaching and of service to the Church. Some of the evenings are enlivened with games and social fellowship, while the devotional periods, inspirational addresses and the whole life of the school help to send the members back to their churches with a new spirit of devotion as well as with new knowledge and methods.

'A longer course of six months' training was opened in the autumn of 1936 by Nanking Theological Seminary for lay workers recommended by rural churches in the Nanking area. Though still in an experimental stage the advantages of the training of church lay workers in a rural environment and with the simple facilities of a rural training centre are obvious.' [1]

Unfortunately the Shunwhachen Rural Training Centre was completely destroyed in the fighting before the fall of Nanking in December 1937, and the promising beginning of the training of rural church lay workers in this part of China has been interrupted for an indefinite period.

[1] Frank Price, *Bulletin of the Nanking Theological Seminary*.

CHAPTER IX

Christian Colonies

IN the last analysis the economic strength of the Christian community has to be considered within the national economic structure and not as a separate entity; various methods and aids, however, are useful in serving the interests of Christians as a community within a community. One of these aids—the Christian colony—will be discussed in this chapter.

Church conditions in the Orient vary so widely that no special method, employed with success in one field, will completely fit the peculiar needs of another. However, it is probable that the experience of several of the mission fields with colonies will throw light upon the problems of others. The subject of Christian colonies is so immense and the lines of development are so numerous that it will only be possible to consider a few case studies, and to give these a far less thorough treatment than they deserve.

The experience of the Church in various parts of Asia with the Christian colony has been so varied that entirely opposite opinions are held as to its soundness as a policy of economic and social stabilisation of the Christian community. On examination we find that the success of such ventures depends upon a number of factors, such as the nature of their origin, their management, principles of organisation, finance, selection of site, Government co-operation, and the quality of the colonists themselves. Of all these factors the last is probably the most vital and, in the long run, determines the outcome of colonisation. We will examine the history of several types of Christian colony which illustrate one or more of the factors upon which the success of such a venture depends.

The Batak Colonies

The Bataks of Northern Sumatra are natural colonists. Their pioneer spirit, their ability to undergo hardship and to face the unknown for the sake of bettering their circumstances are outstanding characteristics of this virile people. An inner urge to action, a belief in themselves and a craving for mastery of environment have made them successful builders of new communities. The Batak colonies owe their existence to a growing economic pressure which is the result of their rapidly multiplying population and the shrinking size of their ancestral farms. The traditional division of family acres has caused a minute fragmentation of holdings. Caught between this pressure and that of rising economic and cultural needs, thousands of the younger Christian Batak families have chosen to abandon their present life and hew their future from the tropical jungle in places remote from their former homes. Two colonies, each of 7,000 people, have settled in the Mohammedan territory north of Batakland; 20,000 are scattered in pioneer settlements in the south; 35,000 others have found homes in the eastern Residency. In one area measuring 85 by 20 miles, near Padangsidempoean, within ten years 8,000 Christian colonists have settled and have built 40 churches.

The Batak colony has several unique characteristics. Except for one government-aided migration, in which a Christian group was settled for political purposes in the midst of a restless Mohammedan tribe, these population movements have been born of the initiative of the people themselves. Neither financial help, encouragement nor guidance has been given from any quarter. Hearing that good land was available the people emigrated in little groups of one to six families to distant regions. When favourable reports came back from the pioneers, other families followed, and in the course of ten or fifteen years Christian communities of 50, 200 and even 400 families have sprung up in the midst of Mohammedan surroundings.

The Bataks meet the cost of this emigration by the sale of their land and purchase tracts in the new colony from the local Rajah for 5 to 15 *guilders* a hectare for jungle areas. The

land may not be sold by the settler and in the case of his departure it reverts to the Rajah. It may, however, be inherited by his children. Water rights are controlled by the Rajah who, though under the control of the Dutch Government, frequently treats the Christian settlers with injustice and often discriminates in favour of their Mohammedan neighbours.

A second feature of Batak colonisation is the courage with which settlers meet the prodigious toil of forest clearance. The jungle soil is most fertile, but to prepare it for rice cultivation requires an attack with primitive tools upon the giant, interlaced trees and vines, which often rise to a height of 200 feet. These have to be felled and burned to prepare the land for paddy, a process requiring from two to three years. The ground is terraced and irrigated before the debris disappears and rice is grown between the burning stumps. Though the Bataks emigrate in groups each family buys and clears its land and builds its own house. These people prefer virgin land to cleared tracts. They crave the satisfaction of staking out forest claims and putting the seal of ownership upon them by clearing them with their own hands.

A third characteristic of the Batak colony is that it has become a means of Christian occupation and evangelism of new territories. The preaching of the paid evangelist is supported through successive years by the witness of a community. Batak colonies differ widely in this respect. In some cases, the strength of Moslem opposition has caused a greater loss of church members than gain of new adherents. More frequently Christian influence has gradually overcome Mohammedan opposition. The Christians know that they are being watched by their neighbours and feel the obligation of witness and church support, and social and moral conduct are kept at a high level. This witness of a whole community sometimes results in Mohammedans seeking entrance into the Christian brotherhood.

In these colonies we clearly see the relation of economic forces to the growth of the Church of Christ. The Christian

Batak population through measures of hygiene and economic growth is increasing rapidly. These forces are thrusting them out of their own country to occupy and Christianise wide non-Christian areas. If the Batak Church remains true to its high calling one can forecast that, in a few generations, the laws of economics will have been God's instrument to extend widely His Kingdom in northern Sumatra.

Unwise selection of land has brought some of these Batak colonies near to failure; disease, and especially malaria, has taken a terrible toll; unfriendly Rajahs and Mohammedan neighbours have tried to check their progress, but none of these obstacles have stopped this rising Batak tide. It is clear, however, that the colonising movement could be greatly assisted and serious losses avoided if skilled agricultural, legal and medical help were available for the colonists. Aid of this nature wisely given, so as not to check the initiative or spirit of self-help of the colonists, would obviate needless loss and suffering.

The Sarawak Colony

Twenty-eight years ago Mr Wong Nai Siong, a wealthy Christian Chinese business man of Foochow, and one of the first converts in Fukien Province, was deeply moved by the poverty and persecution of large numbers of Christians in Fukien. The Boxer rebellion, famine, flood and banditry had reduced great numbers to the verge of starvation. Impressed by the example of the Pilgrim colonists to New England, he decided upon the plan of moving a group of Chinese Christians to the Netherlands Indies where, freed from persecution, they might begin life again under favourable economic conditions. In seeking a suitable spot for his proposed colony in Borneo he met Rajah Brooke, the Sultan of Sarawak. This English Christian ruler was interested in Mr Wong's plan and offered to receive the colonists in Sarawak, grant them land on easy terms and advance $20,000 (Chinese, currency) to launch the project, on the agreement that the colony would devote itself to rice culture.

A few months later Mr Wong assembled 1000 men,

women and children, nearly all members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, chartered a vessel and landed upon the Sarawak coast. Uncleared, but fertile land was assigned to the colonists in the valley of the Rajang river, rough sheds were put up, the land was staked out and a beginning of jungle clearance made. The next four years was a story of struggle, hardships, crop failures and general disaster. The Dyaks were hired to fell the forest and clear the land, since many of the colonists had never handled a hoe or an axe.

'After a great deal of hard work enough space was cleared to plant a little rice, but the ground was full of roots and stumps and the heavy rains destroyed the crop. The second year rice was planted again, but before harvest wild rats devoured it. Mr Wong, as proprietor of the colony, had to feed the people through both of these crop failures. He next determined to try sugar cane, but when the time came to cut it he could find no market for the crop. Mr Wong still fed the people through this third season of failure, though by now the numbers had been reduced by fever and exposure to less than five hundred.

'The Rajah of Sarawak now visited the colony personally to look into its difficulties. He decided that the best course was to send away the proprietor and let each man be responsible for himself. This was done and almost immediately the aspect of things changed. The people took a new interest in life, began to work well and the colony was soon on a fair way to prosperity.

'Rajah Brooke asked Mr Hoover, the Methodist missionary who had come to work among the colonists, to act as arbiter of disputes in the simple form of Government that was created. Two Chinese were appointed at each of the five settlements to settle personal difficulties; in case an agreement could not be reached the missionary was called in. If he could not manage the situation the case was referred to the Government of Sarawak. By means of this simple form of administration, only one case in many years reached the Government.

'One of the results of the dependence of the first three years of the colony upon the proprietor was that lazy members knew that they would be fed whether they did anything for the colony or not, and therefore refused to work. The earnings of the industrious were taxed to the limit by the proprietor, while the majority

of colonists seeing that they could save nothing did only enough to make a bare living.' [1]

The colonists were given title to the land by payment of a quit rent of 50 cents per acre per year. The Rajah also cancelled unconditionally the 20,000 dollars which he held against the colonists. These generous measures put the colony solidly on its feet and laid the basis for later prosperity.

By 1934 the population had increased to 10,000 people and the holdings to 200,000 acres of cultivated land, an average of 20 acres *per capita*, planted to pepper, rice, sago and rubber. In sixteen years, 1903 to 1919, the foreign trade of the district of Sibu, the port of the colony, increased from $922,000 to $5,284,011. The foreign trade of no other district of Sarawak could match this record, except Miri, where oil had been found.

The Foochow Colony of Sarawak has been, from the outset, essentially a Christian colony. Quoting from the late Rev. J. Hoover's Report to the Methodist Episcopal Conference in 1934:

'From that small band of colonists who came here more than thirty years ago, there are now more than 10,000. Five little chapels have developed into forty-six church appointments. An original church membership of 300 is now 3,000, with 900 adherents and more than 1,600 baptised children under twelve years of age. The school of 30 boys has grown into 38 schools, with over 1,800 children, of whom 1,600 are Christians, and a staff of two teachers has increased to 91, all of whom are Christians.' [2]

From Rajah Brooke's diary in the Sarawak *Gazette* we read:

'We have so much now for which to thank the missionaries, for their work in Sibu is most promising and they have introduced Chinese for different kinds of cultivation. . . . The Baram river needs more inhabitants to make it a centre of agricultural produce, such as rubber, sago, rice and pepper. The American Mission will be approached at once and their assistance asked in finding

[1] Mrs J. Hoover's notes on the story of the Foochow Colony.

[2] Rev. J. Hoover's report to the Methodist Episcopal Conference, 1934.

Chinese immigrants whom the Government will be prepared to support for two years, and assist in felling old jungle and building homes.' [1]

'The vast tropical island of Borneo, 300,000 square miles in area, with unlimited agricultural possibilities, magnificent forests of valuable wood and mineral resources of coal, petroleum, gold and diamonds, and with a scanty population, offers great opportunities to a well-organised colony. A second Chinese colony of Hinghuas followed the Foochow group in 1912. They were given Government land on the Igan river, an affluent of the Rajang. The Government cleared a large tract for these people and built temporary houses. They were thus able to begin cultivation almost on landing and in three months were selling vegetables in the bazaar.' [2]

The Gosaba Estate.

The largest and most striking experiment in colonisation in India is the Gosaba Estate in the delta islands at the mouth of the Ganges river. The founder and patron of the project throughout its thirty-five years of history is Sir Daniel Hamilton, a retired high official of Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co. Impressed by the helplessness and economic weakness of the Indian peasant, this Christian business man has devoted his wealth and abilities to demonstrate that the Indian farmer can be trained under sound conditions of management and finance to become a prosperous man.

Between 1903 and 1909 Sir Daniel leased 25,000 acres of land in the 'Sunderbans' of the Ganges delta. It was desolate, low-lying jungle, intersected and flooded by high tides. He imported labour and gradually reclaimed the whole area by building dykes and allowing the surface salt to be washed off by the rains. He cleared the jungle, built drinking-water tanks and roads and laid the foundations of an agricultural settlement.

After a portion of the land was cleared and bunded, Sir Daniel invited tenants to settle there but, because of suspicion

[1] Rajah Brooke's Diary, *Sarawak Government Gazette*—1912.

[2] Mrs J. Hoover's notes on the story of Foochow Colony.

and ignorance of his motives, applicants were few and unsatisfactory. After seven years 900 people were settled on the land. They were grouped in small villages and were mainly engaged in rice cultivation. The first large group was a community of Christians of the depressed classes who moved to his estate. Sir Daniel hoped to gather many Christian tenants, but has had a discouraging experience with such colonists. Though giving them every opportunity by providing church, pastor and school, he has reluctantly been forced to admit that the Christians through shiftlessness, indifference and lack of energy have made comparatively little progress. Sir Daniel devoted all his abilities to a study of methods by which the welfare of the colony could be promoted. He decided early to base the development of the project on the co-operative principle. In 1915 Co-operative Societies were started and in 1922 the Gosaba Credit Bank was opened. With the increase of co-operative societies among the colonists Sir Daniel ceased issuing loans from the estate and the people began to finance themselves.

A co-operative store was started to supply the colonists with all kinds of articles of good quality at the cheapest prices. A dispensary and clinic with a doctor and nurse were established. Schools were opened in each of the larger villages, with a central school of higher grades for the older children. Sir Daniel and Lady Hamilton personally supervised a night school for adults. An agricultural farm managed by a Government Department officer was opened, the Estate bearing all farm expenses and the Government providing the officer's salary.

Through long years of experimentation, an improved grade of rice adapted to local soil and climate has been produced which has increased the yield of the island's harvests and has commanded a high price in the Calcutta market. Imported bulls were introduced for the improvement of the local cattle, and small stock and poultry were made available for the tenants.

A co-operative paddy-sale society started in 1923 was converted four years later into a Co-operative Rice Mill. Here the rice yield of the colony is hulled, winnowed, bagged

and marketed at a price which ensures a reasonable profit to the farmers. A co-operative Health Committee looks after the health and sanitation of the farming community. The estate is divided into twelve wards, each in charge of a health commissioner who reports daily to the doctor at the central clinic. A trained midwife attends delivery cases and educates the illiterate women of the estate in maternity and child welfare.

Gosaba Estate is now a prosperous rural community of 15,000 people who live in thirty-two villages. 12,000 acres of land are under cultivation with an average holding of seven acres per family. One hundred miles of dykes have been built and the enclosed area, formerly a wilderness, has become one of the fairest farming districts in Bengal.

Sir Daniel has also had a deep concern for the moral and social welfare of the colony. Early in the history of the estate he realised that his tenants' indebtedness was a serious handicap upon the morale and growth of the colony. The case of a farmer whose original debt of Rs. 50 had become Rs. 500 and who was forced to give two-thirds of his annual rice crop to the money-lender to pay interest, without reducing principal, determined him upon action. Calling his tenants together with the money-lenders Sir Daniel secured a statement of the conditions of debt of every man on the estate and wrote off each account by converting the debt into a loan from the estate. These loans were secured on a part of the farmers' annual rice crops at a low rate of interest and within six or seven years every Gosaba farmer was free from debt. Sir Daniel next drove the money-lenders from the colony and opened more co-operative credit societies. There are now twenty-five of these societies in the colony and the farmers are directing their own financial affairs.

With the co-operation of the tenants, men and women of bad character were expelled from the estate. Liquor is forbidden in the colony and liquor shops are kept at a distance of several miles. This, and other evils are controlled by the co-operatives. In 1932 not a single case of the use of liquor was reported.

The colony has stored reserves of grain against a famine year. Thirty looms have been installed and brick and soap making and other simple industries suitable for the spare time of the villagers are taught. A reading club and literary society are provided for the educated members of the staff.

To demonstrate his profound belief in the power of rural reconstruction through the co-operative principle, Sir Daniel has founded at Gosaba, in co-operation with the Bengal Government, a Rural Workers' Training Institute, whose purpose is to prepare promising young men as supervisors of rural reconstruction and co-operatives in the Province. In 1937 twenty young men were at work.

Sir Daniel attributes the success of his colony to three causes. First, the principle of co-operation on which practically every phase of colony life is based. Through the *panchayat* system the people manage themselves, their finances and all their activities. Secondly, the careful selection and test of applicants for tenancy and membership in the co-operatives. For three years a man is given land and a trial loan from the co-operative bank. If he proves industrious and reliable he gets a permanent lease. The men who are incapable become crop sharers or day labourers. If proven worthless they are expelled. In this way the colony has become a community of picked people and the co-operatives have been uniformly successful. Thirdly, the enterprise is run on a paying basis. Sir Daniel dispenses no charity. He helps a deserving man to the limit, trusts him and puts him on his feet, but all this is done on strictly business lines. Long term loans on easy payments are arranged, but they are eventually repaid. On the foundation of these three simple principles a Colony composed of ordinary Indian peasants has arisen in one generation which is a model not only for India but for other countries. Gosaba will repay careful study by all who are interested in strengthening the economic foundations of rural society.[1]

[1] The Gosaba Estate is situated sixty-five miles east of Calcutta in the estuary of the Ganges river. Rail is taken to Canning station and thence an estate launch to Gosaba. The address of the manager is S. B. Mazumder, Sir Daniel Hamilton's Estate, Gosaba, Sunderbans, Bengal.

Martinpur Colony

Thirty-five years ago a tract of ten million acres was opened for settlement by the Punjab Canal projects. A number of experiments were tried by the Government in populating this vast area and bringing it under cultivation. One of these was the settlement of villages by selected groups of Christians, mostly landless tenants from mass movement areas. About 30,000 acres were allotted to the Christians and each mission participating in the scheme was given a tract of 1,250 acres attached to a village. The village in the United Presbyterian field was called Martinpur after the founder.

The opening of this area coincided with a great spiritual revival in the Punjab Church. The long pent-up hopes of generations seemed about to be fulfilled. An intense land hunger and expectation had a part in this revival. The groups who received plots set to work with enthusiasm. The experiment was on a limited scale. The Christian community of the United Presbyterian Mission numbered about 70,000 but there was land for only fifty families. The average farm was 25 acres. The original settlers numbered four hundred. Other missions obtained land for about the same proportion of their people. All these villages have been the *foci* of intense conflict and feuds. To-day they are centres of seemingly insoluble social problems. Among these are:

Overcrowding.—Martinpur, which had originally 400 settlers, or 8 to every farm of 25 acres, now has 1,600 people, or 32 to every 25 acres. This is in addition to large numbers of educated young people, preachers, teachers, nurses, doctors, government servants and housewives. A survey of the village in 1933 showed 55 educated and half-educated young men with no work. This is first-class material for making criminals in any country. Gang fights are frequent every hot season. Debt and absentee landlordship take a terrific toll of the produce. About 25% of the gross yield goes to land taxes and water rent. For two years the wheat crop yielded 3,000 *maunds*.[1] About half went to the Government, to interest

[1] One *maund* equals 80 lbs.

payments and debts and about one *maund* per person of the year's principal food crop was left.

Lack of healthy social life among the young people.—The social standards of Indian society meant that there was no place for unmarried young women of marriageable age in the villages. In the summer of 1933, 67 girls who were pupils or teachers in institutions were at home in the village and 10 single women were teaching in the village mission schools. A gap between primitive agricultural life and the life of a modern community which has often covered one or two centuries is being bridged in a single generation. This severely taxes the capacities of adjustment of people already suffering from over-crowding and economic scarcity. Many break under the strain. The apathy of nervous depression and the hysterical behaviour of frustration must constantly be reckoned with.

The envy of the frustrated, landless groups.—Christian villagers outside the selected group are unwilling to accept the leadership which the colony could supply.

Over against these liabilities the Martinpur colony can show definite assets. In the mission schools there are 250 students. More than half of these are girls. The village has produced 27 normal-trained women teachers. Three neighbouring Mohammedan villages, settled at the same time, have not a single educated girl. The village has successfully experimented with co-education through Junior High School stage. This is the only experiment of the kind in the Punjab. Preachers and teachers from the village are found in the employ of practically all the missions in the Punjab. An economic survey revealed village income from outside sources to be equal to four times the income from the land.

Three practical suggestions are made by Heinrich.[1] If each participating mission could arrange for ten or fifteen such colonies instead of one the rural Christian Church in North India would have an economic base and a sense of security. Instead, there is panic as the sheltering care and

The description of, and suggestions in relation to, Martinpur Colony are taken from J. C. Heinrich's memorandum on Indian Christian Colonies and the Delta Co-operatives.

educational opportunities furnished by the mission tend to diminish. One of the leaders voiced the feeling of the community when he said, 'Whenever I step across the line on to the Martinpur land I breathe a new air. I am on something that the Christians own.'

The second suggestion is that all Re-settlement Administration experience should be gathered up and made available for the re-adjustments that are bound to come in India in the next decade. A social engineering technique will have to be evolved.

A third suggestion is for a vigorous programme of research and study in the social sciences. The Punjab University with which all the colleges are affiliated, and in which the leaders of Indian life are trained, has no provision for the study of sociology and social psychology.

There are conflicting estimates of the success of the Punjab colonies. One national Christian leader affirmed that they were the blackest spots in the history of Christian Missions in India. However, a prominent Indian Christian educator in the Punjab observed,—'You would probably find that most of the Christian leadership in the Punjab has come from these colonies.' A police magistrate stated that he had more trouble with some of the Christian colonies than with any other villages in his district. To which a missionary replied, 'A most hopeful sign! These Christian communities have been awakened from the apathy of centuries of oppression and are beginning to assert their rights. The difficulty is not with the principle of the Christian colony but with the fact that there are not enough of them.'

Church Missionary Society Colonies in the Punjab

The Church Missionary Society in the Punjab has several Christian colonies which illustrate different principles of management. At Clarkabad the people are tenants of the mission estate. The mission is the landlord and in the eyes of the tenants has inherited the prejudices and bitterness associated with this vocation in India. 'In spite of the services of the estate to the community, and the provision of schools,

dispensary and church, our position of landlord mixes spiritual and secular values and makes the shepherding of the people very difficult.'

At Montgomerywalla the people themselves own the land and the mission acts as counsellor. Serious difficulties have been met by these independent colonists. Insufficient land to support a family was granted to the Christians. Because they were classed as menial labourers and not as agriculturalists they received only half the amount of land apportioned to non-Christians. They had no capital, were handicapped from the outset and came under the power of the money-lenders who have taken all their earnings. These adverse economic conditions have limited the progress of the community.

Montgomerywalla is also overcrowded. This is felt more acutely by the Christians than by their neighbours because of their higher cultural standards. 'There is no opening for the educated young people, except to work on the land as labourers of the non-Christian farmers, and even this opportunity is limited. We have a big unemployment problem among our young people when they leave school.' From a census taken of the Christians in the Montgomerywalla area it was found that 86 educated youths were out of work.

The opinion of an Indian Christian who has lived for periods of several years in these colonies is that a few bad characters get into places of leadership and exercise a deadening influence upon the morale of the community. 'The missionary is sometimes deceived by these men and both missionary and pastor are afraid to stand up to them. The police alone are undeceived.'

Another Indian church leader spoke of the possible value of the colony as a means of evangelisation. 'Wherever the colonies carry on their Christian duty of witness to non-Christians they are strong and fruitful; and wherever they fail to do this they are weak and barren. We have both types of colonies in our midst.'

Mission leaders in the Punjab hold divided opinions as to the value of the colony as a means of advancing the Christian cause. On one side we heard it stated, 'If more land could

be made available I have no doubt that we should do our utmost to settle the Christians on it, although previous attempts have not been markedly successful. But there is no hope that Government will ever again give land to Christians or non-Christians, and our Christians have no money to buy land.' On the other hand in the same mission we heard the opinion,—'I think the general feeling is that these colonies are a failure owing to the mentality of the people and their lack of capital and initiative. We should not wish as a mission to renew the experiment.'

The Assam Colony

One of the oldest Christian colonising projects in India is the Assam colony, started by the Scandinavian Mission to the Santals. The Santals were an aboriginal tribe of simple forest people, living by hunting and fishing and only secondarily by primitive agriculture. Their retiring habits, their helplessness in the face of civilisation and the steady reduction of their jungle haunts made the mission anxious for the future of the Christian community. The poor quality of the soil and scarcity of agricultural lands were further difficulties.

An officer in the Public Service told the mission of the abundance of rich, unused land in Assam, where he had formerly been stationed. The mission got into touch with the Deputy Commissioner of Goalpara District, on the lower Bramaputra river, and in 1880 at his invitation a member of the mission and five representative Christian Santals went to Assam and were shown the proposed settlement location. Well satisfied with what they had seen, the explorers returned home carrying samples of earth and water to show their people. Twenty Christians next went to Assam to clear a site and build houses for the first village. In 1881 fifty-seven families, numbering 220 people, started for Assam.

A strong pastor laid the spiritual foundations of the colony during the first thirteen years of its history. A trained Santal compounder who looked after the physical welfare of the colonists was another member of the pioneer group. The colony was fortunate throughout its first sixteen years in

attracting the services of a succession of distinguished European patrons as medical advisers and superintendents. At the end of 1897 there were 2,303 colonists, cultivating 1,226 acres. During the next nine years there was no European superintendent and the colony was left to the control of the Christian Santal chiefs and the pastor, while occasional visits were made by the missionaries from the Santal country. The experiment of autonomous control did not succeed, the population dwindled by 500 and the land under cultivation decreased by 530 acres.

The Assam Government notified the mission that if the colony could not make better use of it a part of the ceded tract would be granted to outsiders. The mission was given three years' grace in which to retrieve the position and a missionary superintendent was appointed. By hard promotion work among the Santals, in which lantern slides were used which showed to the home population pictures of prosperous colonists who were formerly known as destitutes, the tide of emigration again set in towards Assam. The population of the colony doubled in the next six years and the cultivated land increased from 1,691 to 4,093 acres. The present population of the Assam colony is 7,000, nearly all of whom are Christians. About half the area of 18,666 acres is under cultivation. The average holding per household is 7 acres.

Though exceedingly fertile the site of the colony was most unhealthy; malaria, blackwater fever, cholera and dysentery took a heavy toll during the first ten years. By 1909 through reclamation, sanitary measures and health instruction, the mortality rate had fallen to the comparatively low figure of twenty per thousand. The colonists were granted the conditions of land tenure enjoyed by the natives of Assam, including the right of inheritance and transfer on condition of payment of a nominal land tax amounting to 55 cents (U.S.) per acre a year for paddy and 27 cents for dry lands. During the first year the Government paid all transportation costs of the colonists from the Santal country to the colony. Loans were made to the settler by the Government without interest until the first harvest. After the initial year of settlement the

mission had to find the funds for moving new settlers and installing and feeding them until they harvested their first crops. Through interested friends in Europe and India a large loan fund was built up which later was converted into a co-operative colony bank. The settlers have almost invariably prospered and practically all funds advanced by the mission have been repaid. From the outset the mission has refused to take over the ownership of the land. It remains the property of the settlers and cannot be alienated to Hindu caste people. The mission has nothing to do with the colony revenue, except that it stands surety for the Santal revenue officer who is appointed by Government.

A European tea estate adjoining the settlement in the course of time became a source of grave social and moral danger to the Christian Santals. Finally the mission bought the estate as a measure of self-protection and for more than forty years has managed its own tea garden. The garden has proved extremely useful in offering employment for indigent Santals coming to the colony. By working in the tea garden for a period these people can pay back to the mission the cost of their transportation and other advances made toward helping them to become established in the colony.

The Santal colonists are settled in self-governing villages each with its headman and *panchayat*. Above these is the 'over-chief' of the colony, to whom village disputes are referred. The colony superintendent has ultimate authority but honours the *panchayat* decisions. The social and religious rules of the colony were based on the old social system of the Santal people, adjusted to Christian standards. In the history of the colony, crimes punishable by law have been almost unknown.

There are four congregations each with about 1700 members. The churches are self-supporting and the people erect and repair their own buildings, though the mission helped to put up the first churches. The pastors are assisted by unpaid lay workers,—elders and deaconesses who help in the spiritual nurture of the parishes and evangelise the neighbouring tea gardens. 'Our spiritual difficulties come with the third

generation. Though most try to live as Christians, many seem to lose the zeal which the older generation had when the colony was started under trying conditions which are now unknown to the young people. Though there are weaknesses in the colony I certainly think that it has been used by God to strengthen His Kingdom in this district. It seems to me that for people like the Santals who still need help from the mission, and who still appreciate it, Christian colonies must be a hopeful means of stabilising and extending the Kingdom of God in India.' [1]

Borsad Farm Colonies

The Christian farm colony has been a special feature of the work of the Irish Presbyterian Mission in Gujrat, India. The first colony at Borsad was founded in 1847 by the London Missionary Society and in 1860 was transferred to the Irish Presbyterian Mission. There are now fifteen colonies in the Borsad district.

The colonies were first started to provide a refuge for caste converts. It appeared impracticable for caste Christians to live and train their children among Hindu relatives. The Hindu villagers said, 'We can do without the fathers who have become Christian; let them go, but we will never let their wives and children go.' In the various colonies of the Borsad station more than half the settlers were caste people. The second purpose was to improve the social status of outcaste and low caste converts and to nurture the spiritual life of converts of all castes. 'For years I was in favour of allowing our low caste converts to remain as witnesses in their own villages, but seventeen years' experience of their struggle in the *dhedwadas* [2] has transformed my views. . . . A convert has often more influence with his Hindu relations when living removed from them in a Christian colony than when living with them in a *dhedwada*. A man pleading with me to build houses in the settlement for Christians who desired to leave the *dhedwada* said: "We live in the midst of filth and when it is

[1] Rev. O. Eie, Santal Mission to the Northern Churches, Dindinga, Assam.
[2] Outcaste quarter of an Indian village.

stirred up, as it is daily, some of it sticks to us and a great deal of it to our children." '[1]

The third purpose of the Borsad colonies was to make provision for orphans to support themselves by farming.

The Borsad colonies represent two systems of settlement,—direct and indirect control. The mission's experience favours the direct control plan. One of their indirectly controlled colonies, in which the farmers owned their own land and houses, has seen nearly all its land pass into the ownership of others, for the most part non-Christians. Poverty and the high cost of land make it difficult for settlers to purchase and keep their farms. The pressure to alienate them during times of economic stress is very great. For these reasons a majority of the Borsad colonies are directly controlled by the mission.

The general manager is a missionary. He buys the land, builds the houses, fixes the rent and settles the tenants. He is assisted by capable deputies among the mission workers in charge of the various colonies and by the colonists themselves. The rules of operation are that colonists must behave as true Christians—disputes and misconduct are handled by their own *panchayats*; that settlers must support themselves, that initial loans must be repaid and that tenants pay their rent regularly. Those who comply with these simple rules enjoy permanency of tenure. Those who cannot, after a fair trial, must give up their land though they may stay on in the colony and support themselves in other ways. Philanthropy and business management have gone hand in hand. There have been very few failures and many successes among the colonists.

Mr Henderson sums up the results of the farm colonies of his mission as follows: The acreage has increased from 74 acres in 1877 to 4,725 in 1938; the original colony with 11 homesteads has grown to 21 colonies in which are 400 settlers' families and a total population of 2,500. The prosperity of the colonists is marked, particularly in the number and condition of their cattle. There is increased cleanliness in the appearance of the people, their houses and farms. The

[1] R. Henderson, *Christian Farm Colonies, Gujrat, India.*

colonists have improved socially, intellectually and morally. The changed attitude of high caste people towards them has given them self-respect. Universal education has produced a literate community. Moral standards are definitely higher among Christian colonists than among Christians living elsewhere. Caste barriers are being broken down by unrestricted fellowship between the ten castes and sub-castes represented. The people live, work and mix freely together as members of one family. Marriages are also taking place between the caste groups. The Borsad colonies have not experienced overcrowding. There is no place, however, for educated youth in the colony. A number go to the cities or get work in the mills and others find positions with missions and Government. An industrial mission school trains boys as tailors and carpenters.

A member of the Irish Presbyterian Mission states that the farm colonies have done more for the progress of church support than any other factor. He says, 'They are the backbone of the Church's self-support. Nine of the eighteen pastors of this Church are settled in colony churches, all of which are self-supporting or find their support from Indian sources.' The native pastors' fund amounts to Rs.84,000, raised entirely in India, and supplies about half the salaries of the eighteen pastors of the church. The annual gifts from the churches to the fund amount to Rs.9,000. The colony churches are the best contributors to this fund.

The spiritual growth of the settler has been marked. A Christian community consciousness has developed that is quite distinct from that of Christians living in Hindu villages. Three or four small colonies are grouped together to form one congregation of 150 to 300 persons with a pastor, a session of elders and a finance committee. Laymen's preaching bands take an active part in evangelising the people of the surrounding villages and are a source of positive influence upon their non-Christian countrymen.

No grants are made by the mission to the colonies, beyond an occasional appropriation from a Mission Press or Orphanage Fund. There are two sources of income—rentals from land

and special gifts. Friends outside the mission circle have helped to build up a fund for the purchase of new land. The cost of establishing a Christian colony of ten families is estimated by the Irish Presbyterian Mission at Rs.7,500 or Rs.750 per family: land, Rs.450; house, Rs.225; cattle shed, Rs.75. In addition a well has to be dug. The average farm is between 3 and 4 acres. The land has to be purchased in the open market, sometimes at a very high price.

Some of the difficulties encountered by the mission are: poor land; poor farming,—the outcaste colonists do not easily overcome their characteristic inefficiency and laziness and are often ignorant of farming methods; change in economic conditions,—when some colonies were founded all a man needed was 3 acres for grain and he could get plenty of work as a labourer. Such work is now very scarce and food is dear. There is also the necessity of managing the estate as a business proposition rather than as philanthropy. It takes a certain amount of hardness to insist on payment of rent and repayment of loans. Not every missionary is cut out for this job. Firmness and sympathy are essential. The greatest difficulty of all is the deepening of the inner spiritual life and thus making the farm colony a truly Christian community.

Another missionary writes: 'I can see difficulties in a mission extending the colony system indefinitely. But were I to be offered really good land and plenty of it I should do my best to colonise more. There are difficulties and disappointments, but the ultimate benefits are well worth overcoming these. . . . The colony acts as a nursery for men coming into the Church. Later it becomes the core around which the Church is built. The Indian always turns back to his native place. Our Christians, too, whatever their education or position in the cities, turn back at Christmas and for weddings, etc., to the old home in the farm colony.'

The Lloyd Barrage Scheme

The Government of the North West India Province of Sind has recently opened 2,000,000 acres of desert for settlement under the Lloyd Barrage Scheme. The land is offered

for sale and on long and short leases. Prices vary according to the quality and position of the land. Four grades of land are offered at the following rates of purchase :

Class of Land.	Perennial Area.	Rice Area.
A. First class land .	Rs.125 to 150 per acre.	Rs.250 per acre.
B. Good land requiring some improvements	Rs.65 to 75 per acre.	Rs.200 per acre.
C. Kalrathy . . .	Rs.50 to 65 per acre.	Rs.120 per acre.
D. Sandy . . .	Rs.65 per acre.	..

The purchase price is payable 15% down and the balance in ten equated instalments of principal and interest at $6\frac{1}{2}$%. The grantee is liable to pay his share of the cost of existing water-courses and their alteration or extension and the construction of new watercourses, together with the cost of survey and demarcation of his land.

This great project will provide farms for from 80,000 to 100,000 families on the estimate of one square of land per family. The climatic extremes of heat and cold, together with the hot dust storms are factors that will test the hardihood of pioneer settlers. These rigorous conditions will doubtless in time be modified as this semi-desert region is brought under cultivation.

Modjawarno Colony

The work of the Netherlands Missionary Society in East Java began with a colony. In 1848 a Eurasian planter secured from the Government a tract of forest near Sourabaya for the use of a group of farm coolies whom he had converted to Christianity. Five or six penniless but determined families cleared the jungle and formed the nucleus of the first Christian settlement in East Java. Their plan was to be freed from Moslem persecution and to worship and live as Christians. Other Christians joined them. A Dutch missionary settled among them in 1852 and the foundations of Modjawarno were laid. Later, five other colonies were opened nearby and

together they form one of the strongest Christian communities in Java. The forest sites were rich virgin land and once the area was cleared the people prospered. 60% of the people are Moslem and 40% are Christian. Their children attend the same schools and the families have social relationships but do not inter-marry. There is a slow but steady movement of Moslems into the Christian Church, 420 having been baptised in the last thirty years.

Soewaroe Colony

Another strong colony, Soewaroe near Malang, with 1000 Christians has 'hived off' three or four younger settlements, one of which has become larger than its mother colony. Insufficient land for the growing population has scattered the younger people over the countryside. Soewaroe has reached the limit of growth and is facing the question of sending part of its population to Sumatra. The village mayor is opposing this policy. He urges the people to stand by their Christian stronghold and, instead of emigrating, to buy land to start new Christian centres in neighbouring villages where a few Christians are already living. The peace, cleanliness and prosperity of these Christian colonies is attracting numbers of Moslem inquirers. They are well-governed communities with self-supporting churches and well-established schools and are definite sources of leadership and centres of Moslem evangelism.

In West Java four different types of Christian colonies are being developed under the general supervision of the West Java Netherlands Missionary Union.

Palalangon Colony

This venture was started for a group of Christians who after conversion had been forced to leave their own property. The land was leased to the mission by the Government for a period of seventy-five years, with the possibility of renewal at the end of that time. Last year this period ended and the Christians asked to be given title. The Government agreed to this request. Formerly the Christians lived alone but, a

often happens in Java, the Moslems surrounded them. They are still isolated in the sense that they do not mix a great deal with them. Both Moslems and Christians now form one community, a *dessa*. They all pay the same taxes and are under the authority of the same headman, the *lura*, who is a Moslem. When the land was on a temporary lease there was no headman in charge of the community, since it was controlled by the Government. The colony now has the same form of government as other Moslem villages. The mission fears, however, that under this new type of control the Moslem headman may show partiality or may treat the Christians unjustly. But it is felt that it is better for Christians to own their own land and meet their own difficulties than to be protected as before, for only in this way will they become a part of the whole community.

Pangharepan—The Hope

This colony was started in 1890 and continued as a tea estate until 1920. The manager was a missionary who had to learn the business of tea growing from the very beginning. He received money for the development of the estate from patrons in Holland. There were 400 Christians working as coolies on it. As long as there was a good market for tea the estate just met expenses. When the price of tea fell the project faced a serious economic crisis. It was decided that the tea estate could not be managed successfully by a missionary who had to be both its spiritual and business leader. Among other problems, Christian employees insisted upon being paid for Sunday, although they did no work on that day. In the end the estate was sold and the proceeds were divided among the people who bought their own rice lands and built homes. The Dutch patrons, though disappointed, had begun to feel that it was not right to isolate the Christians. They are now in a *dessa* and are living with Moslems in much the same way as the Christians in Palalangon. In 1934 the Christians were too poor to give to the Church. They had only the clothes on their backs and their earnings of 2½ cents per day. If the manager had been a business man

the venture might have succeeded. The colony would still have had its problems but the people might have worked better because they would not have known the manager so intimately and felt that he would always help them out.

Tamiang Colony, near Cheribon

About thirty years ago this Christian farm colony became a refuge for oppressed Christians. The people had to agree to certain strict rules of conduct, such as no betting, no card playing, no objectionable dancing, etc. The missionary had power to send away those who broke the rules and permit others to enter. Moslems were also allowed to live in the community if they followed the rules. At present the colony's population of 200 is about half Christian and half Moslem. Relations between the two groups are good. The colony suffers from poor irrigation. They are dependent on the rainfall. When the land was chosen it was hoped that a road would lead through this village which would facilitate marketing and trade, but it was laid six kilometres from it. Slate and brick industries were planned but the location proved unsuitable. The community is very weak and there is little hope of improvement.

A frequent weakness of the Christian colony is the tendency to be isolated from the rest of the community. In Java the Moslems realise this weakness and expect the Christians to take no part in community life or to leave the *dessa* entirely. This is exactly what the Moslems want, for it increases their power in the village and their authority with the Government.

CHAPTER X

The City Church

THE lively interest that has developed in the rural field of the Church in recent years, particularly in China and India, has put the city field somewhat into the background. The importance of the city is in danger of being taken for granted, if not overlooked. During this period in which interest has been increasing in the rural areas there have been developments in urban centres and among urban churches which should be of profound concern to the whole Christian movement in the East. The cities of Asia are the reservoirs of leadership and economic power on which the Church must draw if the vast rural fields are to be evangelised through the efforts of the Younger Churches.

The city was the first home of the Church in the Orient. The treaties between eastern and western nations limited the residence and activities of foreigners to the ports. Here were located the first foreign concessions, the sites of missions, residences and schools, and here the first Christian converts were won and the first churches built. Strategically, as well as historically, the oriental city was the place in which Christianity secured its foothold. Government and municipal officials, religious and cultural leaders, together with their institutions, were concentrated in the cities. Here lived the aristocracy and the *literati* and, of great practical importance, here were the centres of banking and commerce, and a *bourgeoisie* possessing the economic strength and intelligence to form the nucleus of an independent church. Foreign missions and trade entered the ports of the Orient together. The mission, as well as the merchant, usually secured ownership of extremely well situated property under treaty protection. This in many cases became the site of the first church and gave the Christian community a commanding position. With the

growth of these centres, and the rise in their property values, the original investments of the missions and churches have greatly appreciated.

Although the countries of Asia are predominantly rural, they all possess great cities. Each of the first six cities of Japan has a million or more inhabitants.[1] After the earthquake of 1923 Tokyo became the third world metropolis, and to-day numbers a population of 6,000,000. There are 25 other Japanese cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants. China's vast cities astonish the traveller. Each of seven centres numbers a million or more people; another 12 cities have more than 400,000 each, while there are 65 cities with a population in excess of 100,000. Statistics show that India has only two cities [2] with populations of over a million, but there are 30 provincial centres and state capitals with populations of 100,000 to 400,000. Korea, the Philippine Islands, Burma, Siam and the Netherlands Indies, aside from their capitals, have relatively few large centres of population.

The traditional picture of the somnolent East has been shattered by the amazing modern growth of these urban areas. Few western nations can match the 300% population increase of Tokyo and Osaka in one generation. The rise of Shanghai from a fishing town in 1850 to a city of three and a half millions in 1937 can find a parallel only in the history of Chicago. An expanding population, modern industry and commerce, both domestic and foreign, and the introduction of modern transportation have given a cityward impetus to the rural populations of the Orient and have brought many of these Asiatic cities into a position of power comparable to the great *entrepôts* of the western hemisphere. The development of educational institutions and training centres in these urban areas has further added to their attraction as residential centres.

The people of the oriental city may be roughly divided into three groups, with all of which the Church must deal. First, there is the old aristocracy and the ancient families of the *bourgeoisie*. Among these are the landowners, bankers,

[1] Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, Kobe, Kyoto, Yokohama.

[2] Calcutta, Bombay.

commercial houses and a host of smaller shop people, whose ancestors for many generations preceded them in the same occupations. Second, there is the large circle of professional people and civil servants,—teachers, doctors, lawyers, small officials and technical men whom the multiplying activities of the modern city have called together. In the third group we find the workers who have come to the city from rural areas to better their economic condition and who are employed in the mills, foundries, docks and large and small factories. They live, for the most part, in the congested quarters under conditions which create serious sanitary and moral problems for the municipality. Below this group are those who follow a precarious life in the slum area,—rag-pickers, hawkers, beggars, thieves, scavengers and the unemployed. The eastern ports also have their population of boat dwellers who live constantly on the water. In Canton 50,000 of these crowd the waterways of that city of rivers.

In the midst of this mosaic of life composed of ancient and modern fragments, in which both the highest and lowest classes of society are represented, stands the Christian Church with a message and a responsibility for all,—but which in spite of its generations of existence has as yet a limited outreach. The Church has not been able to keep pace with the rapid growth of these great centres. A church survey of Tokyo in 1919 [1] showed that only three of the 101 churches were situated on the east side, the industrial and slum area of the city, and that the field of these three churches contained two-fifths of the city's population. The experience of the Church in Tokyo during the period of its immense industrial expansion is duplicated in Shanghai, Bombay and other industrial centres of the East.

Christian Concentration in the City

The city church enjoys a great advantage in the concentration of its Christians within a limited area and in its numerical strength. However, it is doubtful whether this source of power is fully appreciated or utilised by the Protestant com-

[1] J. M. Davis, *An Industrial Survey of the East Side of Tokyo.*

munity which is weakened by so many divisions in non-Christian centres. The suburbs of Calcutta, excluding Howrah, contain 48,473 Protestant Christians. The rate of increase during the last decade is 17·6%.[1] Tokyo's Protestant Christians number approximately 40,000. The Korean city of Pyengyang has 20,000 Protestants. In Shanghai, before the present hostilities, the Protestant church membership was about 22,000, excluding an estimated 8,000 to 10,000 unattached Christians. Canton has between 5,000 and 6,000 church members, Tientsin about 1,800. An Indian city of the second rank, such as Lahore with 400,000 inhabitants, has 13,000 Protestants. According to Kellock's estimate,[2] the Protestant Christian population of Bombay is not over 10,000—Roman Catholics number 65,000. Bangalore with a population of 306,470 is an unusually strong Christian centre with 20,027 Protestants and 16,479 Roman Catholics.[3]

The concentration of Christians gives the city church a large membership. Many congregations in centres of oriental population equal or exceed the minimum standard of 200 members which has been suggested as necessary for the formation of a financially independent church.[4] Churches of 400 to 500 members are not uncommon in many cities of Asia. Several Korean churches, Pyengyang, New Wiju, Seoul, Taikyu and Syuen Chun, have a membership of 1,000 to 1,500. In Javanese and Sumatran cities like Djokjakarta, Taroetoeng and Balige we find congregations numbering well over a thousand. In Korea and the Netherlands Indies where usually only one denomination occupies a field, it is possible for churches to have a far greater membership than in areas where several denominations are at work.

A helpful result of the concentration of Christians in urban areas is the sense of solidarity and of fellowship experienced by a community of believers. The church federations of cities like Tokyo, Shanghai and Canton bring the Christians

[1] Survey made by St Paul's College, Calcutta.

[2] Survey made by Wilson College, Bombay, under the direction of Rev. J. Kellock, M.A., B.D.

[3] Census of 1931.

[4] Chapter VII, *Methods of Self-support.*

of all denominations together for spiritual fellowship and united action. Questions of religious freedom and illegal oppression bearing upon individual Christians or on the whole Christian community can be dealt with far more effectively through a federation of churches than through individual action. In this way the strength and experience of the entire Christian body can be made to serve the interests of the weakest church in the city.

The influence of such federations can be far reaching, not only upon non-Christian society but upon the Christians themselves. The members and adherents of the city church may become a self-contained community, a Christian brotherhood, which can replace the old brotherhoods and make possible the realisation of the true nature of the Church as the Body of Christ and as a fellowship of believers. Corporate service for the poor and unfortunate of the brotherhood—the widows and orphans, the sick and the unemployed—is possible, and youth organisations like the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. can be established. The Christian society of the city should provide a natural medium through which youth can find recreational and social expression and which can help to solve the problem of marriage within Christian circles.

A union of churches makes possible a joint attack upon such social evils as prostitution, liquor, gambling, opium and narcotics, child labour and poverty, and effective pressure may be brought to bear upon municipal and provincial governments by a federal church council. The growth of the Temperance Movement in Japan and the widespread protest against licensed prostitution have been made possible through the joint action of the Christians in the cities who, banding together in city federations, were later organised for national action to oppose these outstanding evils. The Anti-Opium Association of China originated in the co-operative effort of the Christians of Shanghai. An extension of these methods is necessary in the Orient, for in this way the non-Christian community can be shown the corporate strength of the Church and the meaning of the teachings of Christ in relation to the evils of society.

The diverse occupations of the city church members instead of being a divisive factor may become a practical source of education, encouragement and progress. A strong city church in the Orient should represent a self-contained social unity and a Christian replica of the larger non-Christian community. The under-privileged members should feel the stimulus of fellowship with men and women of wider opportunity and higher culture. A city church which inspires its members to serve one another can also extend a helpful ministry to its neighbours. For twenty years the Misaki Baptist Tabernacle of Tokyo in a wide programme of Christian service has ministered to the district which surrounds it in the heart of the city. Lawyers help the poor of the community; physicians provide consultation and clinic services; other trained members conduct an employment agency, a day nursery and kindergarten, and cooking classes; service is rendered in sick visitation and in practical advice to families in difficulties; evangelistic meetings and preaching bands extend the spiritual message of the Christian brotherhood. When a congregation conceives its church relationship to be one of ministering rather than of being ministered to, not only can it take the place of the old non-Christian brotherhood but it can make the nature of the new brotherhood better understood and thus win others to it.

Occupations of City Christians

The occupations of the urban Christian community and the supporting power of a church are closely related. In this regard conditions vary, not only between countries but between cities within the same country and between churches in the same city.

The strength of the urban churches of Japan centres round the professional and middle-class people who comprise the greater part of the membership, although there are churches with factory workers and the very poor on their rolls. Chinese city church members represent a wide variety of occupations, including wealthy business men, highly placed officials, academic people, students, small shopkeepers, servants and poor coolies. The membership of the church in the smaller

cities is made up to a considerable extent of people employed by the mission, and in consequence the Church is often dependent upon this group for financial support.

There is a wide range in the type of church membership in Indian cities; Kellock in his study of 613 Bombay Christian households finds that 53% of the wage-earners are labourers, mechanics, millworkers and domestic servants; 20·9% are in the liberal professions, including clerks and men in administrative services; 11·9% are employed in technical services or are proprietors of small businesses; 11·4% are unemployed or incapable of employment and 2·4% are reported in other occupations.[1]

Among the 52 Christian families of St George's parish, Calcutta, it is reported that:

'Of the chief earning members, six were teachers, seven were motor mechanics or drivers, eight were switchboard attendants or meter readers of the Calcutta Electric Co., three were typists or clerks, four were nurses and one was engaged in trade with a stock valued at Rs.500. The rest belonged to the artisan class or were unskilled labourers in factories. Twenty-five families earned an income between Rs.30 and Rs.50 a month and the wages of twenty other families were below Rs.15.'[2]

A very different picture is drawn by the same survey of the status and earning power of a group of 45 families belonging to the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon and occupying 'The Christian Compound' close to St Paul's College:

'Of these 45 families, two have incomes of over Rs.400 a month; seven between Rs.200 and Rs.300; seven between Rs.100 and Rs.200; nineteen between Rs.50 and Rs.100 and ten between Rs.30 and Rs.50. The families lead prosperous and decent middle-class lives.'[3]

These 45 families represent an earlier migration to Calcutta than the group mentioned above. From the fact that their lowest salary level equals the highest income of the former

[1] Survey made by Wilson College, Bombay, under the direction of Rev. J. Kellock, M.A., B.D.

[2] Survey made by St Paul's College, Calcutta. [3] *Ibid.*

group it is apparent that they are not only in a different social and occupational class but enjoy much greater economic power.

The Bangalore study [1] of the economic condition of city Christians, on the basis of 783 returned questionnaires, indicates a high proportion of Christians in clerical occupations: 2 lawyers, 15 doctors, 17 mission agents, 13 social welfare workers, 156 teachers, 33 nurses, 182 clerks, 28 landlords, 9 engineers, 48 business men, 109 mechanics, 56 government servants, 65 domestic servants, 22 petty traders, 19 sepoys and 7 policemen. The list is conspicuous for the small number of common labourers.

From the study of 31 urban churches of the United Provinces of North India we learn that 'the bulk of the urban church membership is made up of the student, clerk, teacher and official types. An average of 25% of the membership are menial workers, 10% are people with small independent lines of business and 65% are composed of the clerical and academic classes.' [2]

Wiser draws the conclusion that in these 31 urban churches the occupation of the members seems to bear no relation to the possible financial independence of their church. Where the church is made up of the social *élite*, the 'white collar' job people, and those working for themselves, we find only two out of six churches entirely self-supporting. He makes the further important statement that in 64% of the urban churches of the United Provinces 59% of the members are associated with mission institutions and that they contribute 82·5% of the total church income.

Economic Power of the City Church

The fact that in general urban people are in a position to spend money more freely than the rural population supplies the city church with a potential economic power far in excess of the church in rural districts. Two city churches in Sumatra reveal this marked disparity of economic strength between urban and rural congregations.

[1] Bangalore United Theological College.

[2] Survey made by United Theological College, Saharanpur, under the direction of W. H. Wiser, Ph.D.

In Padangsidempoean, a city of 80,000 people, the church has 800 members. The average monthly salary of Christian families in this city is 40 *guilders*, although there are several incomes of from 200 to 400 *guilders*. The average monthly income of the rural Christian family of the district is 3·75 *guilders*, sometimes supplemented by garden produce. Thus the city member has from eight to nine times the gross income of the rural member. Several men in the congregation of 500 at Sipirok, a neighbouring district capital, earn 200 *guilders* or more a month, and the income of one Christian landowner was reported to be 280,000 *guilders* a year. Both the Padangsidempoean and Sipirok churches are self-supporting, but neither of these comparatively prosperous congregations gives in the same proportion as the rural churches of their areas.

However, self-support in the city church ought to be more easily achieved. Despite the fact that standards of living are higher in urban areas than in the country, a greater amount of coin is in circulation and more money is spent. On this point the excellent study of 613 Indian Christians of Bombay is illuminating.[1] Kellock finds that the average household income of the Bombay Christian is :

	Income per month. Rs.	A.	P.	*Occupational Percentage.*
Day labourers . .	28	12	0	18·1
Domestic servants . .	25	10	2	9·9
Millworkers . . .	32	14	8	6·4
Mechanics . . .	46	5	3	18·6
Shopkeepers . .	41	2	1	2·4
Transport workers .	56	3	2	6·7
Business men . .	71	11	0	2·8
Liberal professions .	83	8	1	10·1
Administrative services .	140	2	6[2]	2·3
Unemployed . .	..			6·4
No occupation . .	..			5·4

[1] Survey made by Wilson College, Bombay, under the direction of Rev. J. Kellock, M.A., B.D.

[2] The income of one household in this group is out of all proportion to the others, being Rs.1,268 per month.

A comparison of these incomes with the Rs.10 to Rs.15 per month of the average rural Indian Christian household indicates the potential church-supporting power of the urban Christian community.

In trying to estimate the economic strength of this group of Bombay Christians, we find that 50% of all the families have incomes between Rs.15 and Rs.45 a month; 30% have above Rs.45 and 20% Rs.15, or below. In the analysis of expenditure among the various occupational groups we may take the item 'miscellaneous' as a rough index of the church-supporting power, since this type of expenditure is over and above the bare living expenses of the family. We find that the average 'miscellaneous' expenditure per month is:

	Rs.	A.	P.
Day labourers	5	9	2
Domestic servants	5	3	10
Millworkers	7	6	4
Mechanics	8	8	6
Shopkeepers	12	12	4
Transport workers	13	10	0
Business men	21	4	6
Liberal professions	23	8	7
Administrative services	35	8	1 [1]
Clerks	25	10	2

Kellock itemises the budget of a typical middle-class family. The father is a clerk in one of the public bodies, earning a salary of Rs.71 a month. The family consists of the husband, aged 36, wife aged 25 (both educated up to matriculation standard), a son aged 4½ years and a daughter aged 4 months. The family budget is made up as follows:

	Rs.	A.	P.
Food	20	0	0
Clothes	6	0	0
Fuel and light	5	0	0
Rent	14	0	0
Debt repayment and interest	11	0	0

[1] See footnote to previous table.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Provident Fund contribution . .	6	4	0
Subscriptions, papers and books .	5	8	0
Dhobi (laundryman) . . .	2	8	0
	70	4	0

Further details are given of this family, which is said to be typical of third generation Christians of the city churches.

'The man came to Bombay at the age of twenty-five from a place about 500 miles away to look for work. He has returned every four years to his native place and stayed about a month with relatives. He goes regularly to church, has family worship in his home and subscribes 8 annas a month to the church funds. He is literate in Marathi and English. . . . He has a debt of Rs.60 taken to meet the expenses incurred when his child was ill, but is fortunate in that he can borrow from the co-operative credit society that is run in connection with the business for which he works, and pays only 3½% interest. . . . He and his wife and children live in a room that measures 15 ft. by 10 ft. . . . They have a water-tap to themselves and they share a privy with 29 other families. Their room is kept clean and tidy. It has in it a table and two beds, four chairs and a chest of drawers. . . . The man has access to two libraries, that of the Y.M.C.A. and one connected with the body for which he works. He goes out about 7 a.m. and returns home about 7 p.m. He reads books and papers at home, sits talking for half an hour of an evening, or he may play a game of chess, carum or cards. He visits a cinema about once in two months.' [1]

The large apparent margin between the income and living expenses of many well-placed Christian families in Bombay is reduced by such obligations as interest payments on debts, educational fees for children and remittances to dependants in home villages. But, after due allowance is made for these, there would still appear to be a substantial balance, at least in the case of the higher-salaried groups, from which there might be an increase in the contribution to the church which at present averages from 1% to 2% of income.

[1] Survey made by Wilson College, Bombay, under the direction of Rev. J. Kellock, M.A., B.D.

44% of this group of Bombay Christians are making no monthly contribution to the church, although 66% frequently attend. 60% of those who give contribute half a rupee or less per month ; 25% give between one half and one rupee ; 9% between one and two rupees, and 5% above two rupees per month. The percentage of church attendance and contribution tend to follow the income. Both attendance and contribution decline sharply as the salary falls, which indicates the degree to which the economic condition of church members governs their participation in the life of the church. It is interesting to note that the third generation Christians in this group show a higher average of church attendance and support than those of the first and second generation.

Of the 543 heads of households investigated by Kellock 321, or 59%, were in debt. A definite correlation appears between the nature of employment, size of income and amount of debt. The labourers' group, which stands next to the bottom in the wage scale, leads in frequency of indebtedness, with a percentage of 78. The professional group, which stands near the top in the wage scale, is only 30% in debt. Debts were increasing with 63% of those reporting, were decreasing with 24% and were stationary in the case of 13%. The chief causes of indebtedness among the 78% of indebted Christian labourers were marriage, unemployment and insufficient income. In this group the cost of marriage is the source of 39% of indebtedness.

There is also an important correlation between the illiteracy and earning power of the city Christians. In groups earning above Rs.45 per month there was no illiteracy ; in those earning between Rs.36 and Rs.45, 90% could read and write ; 25% of those whose wages were below Rs.25 were illiterate and of those receiving less than Rs.15, 37% could neither read nor write.

City Church Buildings

Among the advantages which the city church may enjoy is the spiritual home which ownership of a suitable building provides for the Christian community. The importance of a building is much enhanced when it is built by the funds and through the sacrifice of the people themselves. Such a building

is a source of morale, a rallying centre for church members, and gives the Christian movement a stability and status in the city which can be secured in no other way.

Korean cities are noted for the size and substantial character of their churches. Two of the eight churches of New Wiju, a city of 60,000 inhabitants on the frontier of Manchukuo, are among its most prominent buildings. They were built without mission aid and each church seats 2,000 people. The Second Presbyterian Church cost 60,000 yen, is built of red brick and would do credit to any city of like size in the West.

Contrasted with this favourable situation, the study of thirty-one urban churches of the United Provinces of North India [1] shows that only one congregation worships in a building to which it holds title. Of the remaining 30, 7 congregations reported that they worshipped in mission-owned churches, 8 buildings were owned by church conferences, and 5 were the property of presbyteries. One church building was owned by the Government and another by a railway company. One congregation has for years worshipped on the verandah of the pastor's house—a rented bungalow—and one church was not certain whether or not it owned the building it worshipped in. Speaking of the nature of the interest of these congregations in the Church, Wiser says:

'Their interest in the Church is that of a beneficiary rather than that of a benefactor. They worship in the church and hope that the pastor will visit them. They consider that they are entitled to the services of the Church for baptism, communion, marriage and burial; that they are entitled to mix socially with the church members. In large part their interest is limited to its beneficences. This is not to be wondered at, as in most instances the churches have been built and maintained largely through the interest of the missionary societies.' [2]

Congregations in South Tinnevelly and Madras Presidency have shown more enterprise and initiative in acquiring their own church property. In not a few of the strong Christian towns in South Tinnevelly the members have built their

[1] Survey made by United Theological College, Saharanpur, under the direction of W. H. Wiser, Ph.D.

[2] *Ibid.*

churches with their own labour and funds, and they are justifiably proud of their buildings. In approaching the Christian town of Nazareth we saw from a distance of many miles a church tower of great height which dominated the horizon. We were told that the members had added forty feet to their church spire to make it more imposing. Unfortunately the lofty tower had been condemned as unsafe and we found the members engaged in the disappointing task of pulling down what they had formerly built as a labour of love for their church.

On the other hand in some fields missions have not encouraged congregations to obtain title to their local church buildings. The policy of the Batak Church of Sumatra is to place property titles in the hands of the presbyteries. This is is done to prevent arbitrary treatment of pastors which ownership of church buildings is inclined to foster among Batak congregations.

The Migrant City Christian

In many oriental cities the Christian community largely consists of comparatively recent comers and migrants who look to other places as their homes. The study of 613 Bombay Christians reports that 90% came to the city from villages in distant parts of India and that more than one half of them regularly keep in contact with their homes. The study of 45 Calcutta Christian families found that all had originally come from rural areas and that, although many families had arrived two generations ago, they all expected to return to the home village on retirement. The study of 1,800 non-Bengali members of 13 churches in Calcutta similarly found that a recent migration from country to city, mainly from Bihar, United Provinces and Madras Presidency, was for the sake of employment and represented a floating population which looked upon the village as its home and had not become a part of Calcutta life. 69% of the Christians of Bangalore, on the contrary, were born in that city, although the majority of their families migrated from the country districts in a former generation.[1]

[1] Surveys made by Wilson College, Bombay, Scottish Church College, Calcutta, and United Theological College, Bangalore.

Similar studies of the background of the Christian population of the largest cities of China and Japan would show a very high percentage of people who had moved cityward from the provinces and who, in a fair proportion of cases, have moved from rural areas. Usually they consider themselves as sojourners and look forward to a time when they can return home.

Provincial and language barriers in India, China, the Netherlands Indies and the Philippines and to a less degree clan loyalties in Japan tend to keep the migrant Christian detached from urban society. The 13 non-Bengali churches, investigated by the Scottish Church College of Calcutta, represent six language groups,—Telugu, Tamil, Iriya, Nepali, Malayali and Khasi—each worshipping in services conducted in its own tongue.[1] There are at least four different provincial language groups represented among the churches of Shanghai. The Foochow group, speaking Fukienese, forms one of the city's most flourishing congregations. A similar problem of detachment is found among the Christians of Manila who come from all the main language areas of the Philippine Islands.

The Japanese Church has the advantage of one language, but the old clan loyalties and affinities of the feudal age are still strong. On moving to large centres people from the same province seek each other out. Provincial and clan societies and in some cases churches are formed which preserve the old relationships. The result is often detachment from the social life which surrounds them.

The detached and transient character of the Christian population in many oriental cities creates a divided loyalty toward the city church and other community enterprises. This is particularly marked among city Christians in China. The first loyalty of the Chinese Christian is to the little church in his home village and, no matter how long he has been absent, he feels an obligation to support his home church. Hundreds of churches of South China receive regular remittances from

[1] John Kellas, M.A., Scottish Church Col ege, Calcutta, *The Economic Conditions of Non-Bengali Christian Communities in Calcutta with Special Reference to Self-support*.

members who have emigrated long ago to foreign lands or to distant parts of China. We were told of certain rural churches in the provinces of Kwantung and Fukien which receive the major part of their support from overseas members. In some cases the church is practically free from any financial burden through the gifts of its absent members. Notable church buildings, schools and hospitals in Amoy, Swatow and Canton have been built through the gifts of prosperous overseas Chinese Christians who are friendly to almost any appeal for help from their home communities. One of the many financially independent city churches of Canton was built entirely with funds contributed by overseas members and is known to-day as the 'Emigrants' Church.'

The influx of emigrants from rural districts is especially noticeable in the larger cities of India; 84% of the population of Bombay and 62·9% of the population of Calcutta were born outside these centres. We have already seen that 90% of the Christians studied in the Bombay survey were born in rural areas. These last recognise a certain responsibility to their village relatives but very little to their village churches. The study shows that 27% are sending funds to dependants but only 3% are assisting the home church by regular contributions. Home ties are maintained, however, by 60% of this group through visits to the village which average about once in two years and usually last one or more months.

Youth and The City Church

'The average Chinese church is made up of old or middle-aged people. The majority are forty years or over. The young people are not there. In another generation, if this continues, the Church will die out.' These were the words of one of the ablest and most earnest Christian laymen in North China in the autumn of 1936. Though this is probably an overstatement it reflects a situation which endangers the Church throughout the oriental cities. No useful estimate of the supporting power of the Christian community can be made without dealing frankly with this problem.

The Christianity of to-morrow depends upon the messag

of the Church to the youth of to-day. The modern youth of the great cities of Asia are living dangerously. Many voices are calling them. They feel the inadequacies and restraints of their own culture and yet see the inconsistency and hollowness of much of the western civilisation which has come to them. The standards of the cinema and the night club, the hard drinking and extravagances, the social and moral exploitation which are associated with western life have disillusioned the Asiatic youth; when he turns back to his own culture he too often finds recourse to the traditional excesses of his own nation.

The western-style night clubs and dance halls of Tokyo, Shanghai, Canton, Hongkong, Singapore, Penang, Rangoon, Calcutta and Bombay are crowded with modern oriental youth who seek recreation and an emotional outlet in a thoroughly European manner and surroundings. In the ballroom of a hotel in Penang, Straits Settlements, we watched a gay, well-behaved group of two hundred Chinese and Malay young people enjoying the European orchestra and dance floor. The majority were speaking English and danced in a manner that would do credit to a similar western crowd. From the large number of cars parked outside, the decorum of manner and taste of dress, it was evident that here were some of the future leaders of Penang. We thought it more than probable that most of them were outside the Christian Church.

Nationalism has become the religion of large numbers of the finest minds and boldest spirits among oriental youth. It is natural that they should measure religious teaching by the application of its message to the social, economic and political ills from which their countries are suffering. The material and scientific trend of modern education is stifling the religious idealism, whether Christian or non-Christian, of the future leaders of these countries. In the East as in the West economic determinism and scientific law are becoming the gods of youth. The student returned from overseas is the most hopeful and at the same time the most difficult individual with whom the Church has to deal. Hundreds of these young men and women have come into contact with Christian

influences, but have also been exposed to the inconsistencies, vices and racial discrimination of the West. Before the war with Japan ten thousand returned students were estimated to be in Shanghai, of whom more than one thousand were Christian. Very few, however, were connected with any Chinese church. Some attended the British and American union churches. A number were affiliated with the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. The Chinese Church has only a limited attraction for western-educated youth. On their return to China many are strangers in their own country. There is evident craving among some for spiritual expression and fellowship. For several years the Sunday afternoon service conducted in a downtown theatre in Shanghai by the chaplain of the American Marine Corps has been crowded with modern young Chinese. They are drawn by the vigorous message to youth and enjoy the hymn-singing and special music. The Chinese churches of Shanghai are barely touching these potential national leaders.

The diverse membership of the congregation makes the task of a Chinese city pastor peculiarly difficult. College presidents, missionaries, house servants, coolies, high school and university students, shopkeepers, illiterate Christians of a former generation and sophisticated graduates returned from abroad, sit side by side before him. To satisfy all the needs and tastes of such a congregation is impossible.

A prominent business man in a North China city, a mainstay of one of its strongest churches and himself a third generation Christian, in speaking of the problems of youth and the Church, said:

> 'Take the case of my own family. I cannot compel my children to attend church. It would drive them away from religion altogether. Our pastor is probably the best educated man among the clergy of our city. But my seventeen-year-old son severely criticises him,—first, for being inaccurate in physics and, second, for using out-of-date language. My son is right. China has changed so fast in methods, ideas and language that a man educated twenty years ago finds it difficult to satisfy the aspirations and meet the problems of modern youth. But an organised church is necessary for the

continuance of Christianity in China. There is no other agency which can teach religion to our children. Their character-forming influences are the schools and the servants. The father gets up after the child has gone to school. He is away all day, comes back late and goes out again in the evening. Mothers go out to *mah jong* parties and leave the children to the servants. Nothing can take the place of the church and the Sunday school for the child. My son is a keen radio fan, makes his own sets and knows radio theory from A to Z. A few months ago he heard our pastor incorrectly use an illustration from the principles of radio. My son has not attended church since that day because, as he said, " If our pastor can make such a silly mistake in physics how can I believe him when he talks about religion ? " '

In Tientsin, Nanking, Foochow and Canton we heard the same story of the small numbers of educated Christian youth in the churches.

The President of one of the best-known Christian colleges in Japan in speaking of the attitude of his students towards religion said, ' In recent years the number of baptisms in our college has been greatly reduced. Formerly as many as 240 of our students were baptised in one year. Last year there were 40. Our 14 schools used to report over 1,000 baptisms annually among their students. Some of these schools now report none at all. The student class is passing through a period of indifference to Christianity.'

The attraction which the social and economic ranks of Dutch and Eurasian society hold for Javanese educated youth is depriving the churches of their future leadership. This is a matter of special concern to the Netherlands Missionary Union of West Java. A missionary of this society said, ' The relation of youth to the Church is a vital question in Bandoeng. The children are not as enthusiastic Christians as their parents. It is difficult to attract them to the church. There is a constant struggle with the influences of city life. This is a greater difficulty than the struggle with Mohammedanism in the rural areas. Then the children speak Dutch and the parents do not, and our services are all held in Sundanese. The children want to attend the Dutch services and they are eager to join the

Dutch-speaking church. This separates children from parents. It means that the Sundanese churches are losing the young people and the vitality and impetus that comes with them. They are being left with the old and the poor and the children who cannot afford to go to school. The brains and leadership are being drained away from our Sundanese churches. The Sundanese boys do not get real spiritual help from the Dutch services, for the minister is speaking to the needs of the Dutch members and does not touch the problems of the Sundanese and Eurasians.'

The city church in the Orient has the immense responsibility of helping young people from rural areas who are coming to urban centres for education and employment. Here is one of the weak links in the chain of Christian fellowship. The change from the sheltered life of the mission school and a simple country environment to the temptations, freedom and novelty of the modern city shakes the morale of the young Christian. This is the time when he needs all the help which the Church can give him. The whole future of many young men depends upon the friendships, standards of life and the habits which they form in their new surroundings. It is a test which only a vital religious faith can continue to meet victoriously. In this perilous transition of its young members from rural to urban life the Church is suffering severe losses. Denominationalism, language difficulties, public indifference to the welfare of strangers are barriers which the newcomer to the city finds hard to break down. The Church can do its share in helping him to surmount them if it organises a system of introductions from the rural to the city congregations. Unless the newcomer within the first weeks of city life finds a church home and Christian fellowship it is too late; other interests and friends gain his loyalty and he joins the great numbers of unattached, or lost, Christians.

From the Survey made by St Paul's College, Calcutta, we find that:

'Very few of these (1,800) immigrant Christians are well-to-do, being mainly clerks, students, mechanics, mill hands and domestic servants. They have come to Calcutta in search of employment. . .

In a city like Calcutta immigrant Christians are subjected to very grave temptations and need more of the interest and fellowship of their more fortunate brethren than they now get.'[1]

The rapidly expanding Batak Church of Sumatra is feeling the city's menace to their youth.

'Those who went to Java to complete their studies saw another type of European and another manner of life than they were accustomed to see in Batakland, where only the missionaries and government officials were living. In Java, however, they saw also the modern white man who, indifferent to religious things, seeks only money and whose morals were often degraded. To see and to follow were for many the same. Thus began a great destruction of the *adat*, the old customs and usages of their own race; the young people became estranged from their own families; the Christian teachings of their childhood were supplanted by modern ideas; the vices of the cities occupied the heart of many a young man; many fell ill through following this new life.'[2]

The Batak Church in Sumatra has met this peril to its educated youth by forming a congregation of 600 members, mainly young people, in Batavia, the capital of Java. This self-supporting church meets every incoming steamer from Sumatra and welcomes the Batak arrivals, assists them in making their adjustments in Batavia and introduces them to the religious and social activities of the Batak congregation.

The city church is also losing the support of the so-called Christian *intelligentsia* in government and educational circles. In China's capital, Nanking, it was estimated in a church survey just before the present war that not more than ten or twelve of the one thousand Christian officials and educators in Government institutions were attending any church. A missionary who had made a careful study of the Nanking Christian community said, 'The government hospital here is staffed by Christians in all the main departments, but none of them go to church. Some of them promise to support a modern, well-manned church if one should be started. The Church as

[1] St Paul's College, Calcutta. *The Economic Conditions of Some Immigrants to Calcutta from Rural Areas in Bengal.*

[2] E. Verwiebe, *Youth and The Batak Church.* I.R.M., April 1938.

it is in Nanking makes no appeal to the intellectual people. There are not twenty-five educated men in the city who attend church who are not eating "church rice." It is a tremendous situation to face. A group of leaders here are making plans to organise a union church specially suited to the needs of this large influential class of unattached Christians,—but it will require one of the ablest men in China to minister to them.'

A devoted Chinese Christian, a director of the British Boxer Indemnity Commission, in speaking of this question said, 'My wife and I attend church regularly and we are deeply concerned about the problems of the Chinese intellectual and the Church. We feel the need of stronger, better-trained ministers. Pastors receiving stipends of $50 to $100 cannot attract the highly-educated man. The Church must have pastors who know more about the world and political and international conditions.'

In Java also the city church has the problem of a pastorate untrained for dealing with the higher classes of society. At Bandoeng, a government and educational centre of 300,000 people, we were told that only 20% of the church membership was from the intellectual groups. A missionary of the Netherlands Missionary Union said, 'Christianity is gradually finding its way into the middle classes through Christian education. A very few minor officials and a handful of medical students are in the church and almost no one from the higher classes. There is need of a new approach to the higher classes and a careful study of their spiritual condition. They all speak Dutch. A pastor of humble origin who had had a good education and spoke Dutch might be received by them and have some influence.'

The Church's hold on the more privileged youth of the cities may be weakening, but the rank and file of the younger Christians remain loyal. In the Seikokai (united Anglican and Episcopal Church of Japan), we were told that the Brotherhood of St Andrew is holding young Japanese Christians by providing practical lines of service within the Church. The youth of Korea find that the Church is one of the few avenues of leadership and of self-expression open to them. This accounts, in

part, for the great numbers of young people who are actively at work in the churches. Young men and women form a conspicuous proportion of the Sunday congregations of the Batak churches in the cities and towns of Northern Sumatra and lead in church activities. In many Indian cities the communal pressure of surrounding hostile religions makes the church the natural centre to which young Christians turn for social as well as religious activities.

The Moderator of one of the largest denominations in Japan said, 'In some of the churches there are large numbers of youth. Much depends on the pastor. Modern Japanese youth demands strong leadership and if they fail to find it in the church they are repelled. If the preacher lacks fire youth is not attracted. Youth seeks realism—not the logic of conventional sermons. Our preachers lack personality and to-day youth is only ready to pay allegiance to strong men. About half of our Christian families are holding their children to the Church.'

This general statement regarding a nation-wide church is borne out by the experience of Dr Kagawa. He said, 'You need to be bold in speaking out about the Cross of Jesus. Wherever I speak about sin and social wrongs, young men crowd my meetings. They are hungry for reality and for a faith which deals with the great facts of life and does not only theorise.'

The Isolation of the City Church

The detachment of the urban church from the life of the neighbourhood is one of its greatest weaknesses. A group of Christians absorbed in its own problems is likely to become self-centred and to develop spiritual atrophy. 'He that saveth his life shall lose it and he that loseth his life for My sake shall find it,' is as true of a church as of an individual. The downtown church of the Orient is as much in danger of neglecting the needs of the neighbourhood as the Fifth Avenue church in New York or the city churches of London.

One of the oldest churches in Japan, with more than a thousand members, occupies a commanding site near the

centre of a great city. As the city has grown the members have moved to the suburbs and the church has become isolated. Among the members are prominent citizens and many able professional and business men. The pastor is highly trained and holds the confidence of his people. This church has a beautiful modern building, equipped with auxiliary, Sunday school and committee rooms, and plans an interesting programme for its members. But the pastor deplores the fact that his church is doing no social welfare or community work, that it is responsible for no city mission and that its programme is an intensive one for the benefit of the members. Not far from the church are some of the most congested industrial areas in the Far East, with a struggling, under-privileged population living near the subsistence level. On three sides of the city there are densely-populated agricultural areas which have been scarcely touched by Christianity. In economic resources and potential leadership the church is one of the most powerful in Japan. It has a tradition of leadership in Christian circles, contributes to the home and foreign mission work of its denomination, has a long record of self-support and an excellent status in the city, but it practically lets its neighbourhood alone and the neighbourhood lets it alone. It is typical of churches that are found in every large city in the East and West.

The membership of this church is slowly increasing. It receives about one hundred new members by transfer and baptism each year. Two-fifths of its members are listed on the rolls as absent. The accessions by transfer come mainly from other churches of the same denomination. The accessions by baptism are mostly students and members of families already in the church. Losses through transfer of members to other cities, through death and other causes, nearly equal the accessions.

The transient nature of church membership is an extraordinary feature of urban church life in some parts of the Orient. A large proportion of the membership changes in the course of a few years. During a period of four years one small city church in Japan lost 140 members by transfer and received 110 from other churches,—a net loss of 30 members. In another church of 25 members, all but 4 moved away in one year. In

the urban churches of this denomination, baptisms among the permanent population of the city rarely occur. A general trend of this kind has serious results. In the first place the Church at large is seriously weakened, for even with the best system of transfer there are families who on moving for various reasons do not easily relate themselves to the new church. The absence of their own denomination, an unattractive pastor, the uncongenial character of the members or their lack of cordiality, distance from the church, special economies necessitated by the change to a new home, indifference or procrastination and the forming of non-Christian connections are among the causes of loss through transfer. In this rapid turnover large numbers of Christians after a brief period of church affiliation are permanently lost.

Secondly, if the isolated church is not an integral part of its environment its economic strength is badly handicapped. It very largely depends for support on the financial resources of its transient membership. One year it may enjoy the gifts of several high-salaried members, the next it may lose one or more of these large contributors and suddenly find itself badly embarrassed. We have already seen that many migrant Christians have home obligations to their church and relatives which reduce their power to help the new Christian group. In pledging financial aid, transient members are apt to exercise a caution not always warranted by their income. Their excuse is that they are strangers in the community, have only a slight connection with the new church and are uncertain of the length of their stay. They do not feel the same claim upon their interest as the members of long residence. These factors weaken a church in its efforts not only to become independent but to serve the community and thereby secure its support.

A church which is out of contact with its neighbourhood finds it impossible to finance a plan of community service, for it has access neither to the local motivations nor the financial resources which are needed to make such a plan succeed. A church of this type is given up to the spiritually barren task of ministering to itself. Some churches in the urban centres are so completely cut off from the people around them that

families in the adjoining streets would not dream of entering the church to listen to a Christian sermon. With the help of the many specially gifted people in a city congregation a Christian community programme can be devised and organised by its members which will help multiply the contacts of the congregation with the community. The church with a preaching service and Sunday-school programme has only two possible types of approach. If a day nursery, a clinic, a kindergarten, a public reading-room or even a community playground were provided, the church's contacts with the neighbourhood would be largely increased, and the spirit of Christ would begin to be understood by the people.

If the rural church is faced with the challenge of Christian rural reconstruction, the city church is faced no less with the problem of urban reconstruction and the extension of its ministry into the untouched fields of both *bourgeoisie* and proletariat. It is a vast field, wide open and in desperate need of the spiritual resources and the leadership possessed by the city church. It is a field in which the church through losing itself can save itself, for a community that is indifferent to a ministry of preaching will respond to a ministry of service. If Christ is to draw all men unto Himself He must be lifted up where the people are.

CHAPTER XI

Some Self-supporting Churches

THE term 'self-supporting church' lends itself to such a variety of definitions and practices that a useful discussion of the subject by people from different fields is a difficult matter. Such discussion is rendered still more complicated because of the widely contrasted financial policies in use by church groups. A Church which has built its work upon the principle of a central fund, in which the gifts of the local churches are pooled and from which the upkeep of their work is paid, cannot be expected readily to see the alleged advantages of the democratic policy whereby each local church or circuit is directly responsible for its own current expenses.

In the desire that the Younger Churches may as early as possible pay their own way there is as much danger of pushing them to the point of inefficiency, sterility and concentration upon self, rather than upon the growth of the Church of Christ, as there is peril that the foreign-assisted Church may rationalise such help as a reason for not exerting every possible effort to pull its own weight in the work of the Kingdom. We find ourselves in difficulties when we expect a Church to be immune from the weakening effects of subsidy, on the ground that the money has been given by a universal Christian brotherhood for the advancement of a universal Church. We should bear in mind that the Church Universal is made up of individuals who in their response to monetary aids are governed by their experience with money in all other spheres and by the laws of their environment. We cannot divest money of its influence upon human nature simply by dedicating it to God's work. If a foreign subsidy relieves the Christian of sacrificial giving and effort, which he otherwise would be called upon to put forth, it fails in its purpose. The experience and growth of a Church are, in the last analysis, the sum total of the experience

and growth in grace of the individual men and women who are its members.

It is obviously unjust to expect a degree of self-help from the Younger Churches which is not attained by the Churches of the sending countries. Privately endowed and state-supported educational and medical institutions in western lands relieve the individual Church from the responsibility of paying for the education and medical care of its members. It is reasonable to expect that a very large number of the Younger Churches will continue to require help in the upkeep of their schools and hospitals until these are either adequately provided by Government or the Christian community has developed financial strength and public spirit to endow its own institutions. Until that position is reached it would appear to be unfair and a source of discouragement to the Younger Churches to consider them as dependent or financially weak,—nor can we expect them quickly to create an economic, social and religious order in the East which it has taken the West hundreds of years to develop.

We believe that it is reasonable to consider a congregation as financially independent when it is paying fully for its own pastoral service and local church activities; when it regularly supports the general work of its church body; when it takes responsibility for the evangelisation of its neighbourhood and when it assists in the missionary programme of its Church.

There can be no true or lasting vitality in a Church apart from the experience of God's saving grace through His Son, Jesus Christ. Where this is absent no amount of exhortation to give, expedients for economic strengthening or devices for saving funds can inspire a Church or a Christian to sacrificial giving of self or substance. Where the experience of God's grace is present the weakest Church or member is impelled from within to do its utmost to extend His Kingdom, and the key to Church support is at hand. There is a direct relation between the central place of the Bible in Korean Christianity and the growth of its self-supported churches which arrests the attention of any observer. The Word of God is a source of inner life available for every Church, for which no results of

economic and social research, or stimulus of money or method from without, can be substituted.

Not a few of the Younger Churches have moved on to advanced ground in supporting their own institutional work and have set an example for the great majority of the Churches, both East and West. In this chapter we will discuss four great Churches, in Sumatra, Korea, Burma and India, which have by the criteria indicated attained a very large degree of financial independence, together with the conditions under which they arose and the principles and methods that have been responsible for the economic strength that they have attained. An attempt will also be made to discover the relation between the financial policies of these Churches and their total life and experience.

We will first look at the Batak Church—that great body of Christians in the highlands of Northern Sumatra, about which very little is known outside Dutch and German missionary circles. The Bataks are an aboriginal race numbering 1,200,000. Primitive in culture, aggressive and cruel, these people were notorious for their cannibal practices and were avoided by their Malay neighbours. Among their mountains and lakes, blessed with a salubrious climate and fertile soil, these virile people developed a strong racial personality, independence and devotion to their land and tribal traditions.

The German Rhenish Mission was opened in Batakland in 1864 by L. Nommensen, thirty years after the abortive attempt of the American Board missionaries, Munson and Lymann, to enter the country and their subsequent murder by cannibals. Nommensen was one of the greatest of modern missionaries. He entered the Batak country single-handed and by the magnetism of his personality, passion for evangelism, genius for organisation, understanding of the people and the foresight of his financial policy he laid the foundations of one of the greatest independent Younger Churches of the world.

As already noted in the chapter on Lay Leadership, the Batak Church is remarkable in that almost from the beginning of its growth it was assumed that the people would take care of their own pastors, build their own churches and receive no

financial aid from the mission. A circumstance which aided this Spartan policy was the recognition and support by the Government of the village schools started by the mission. The Batak Church has organised its thousand congregations under the teacher-preacher system, whereby the local church shares the services of its pastor with the local school. A major part of the cost of upkeep of the teacher-preacher is met by Government, who pay him for the time which he devotes to the school. Under this arrangement these churches cannot strictly be said to be self-supporting, but they are truly independent of mission aid. It is important to note that one hundred and thirty of the Batak congregations receive no government educational grant, on account of being unable to meet the necessary qualifications for a recognised school. It is significant that many of these congregations which support both church and school are among the smaller and weaker groups of Christians.

The local churches are organised into circuits of from twelve to fifteen congregations under the care of an ordained pastor. The teacher-preachers are helped by lay presbyters who carry much of the responsibility for parish work. The general affairs of the Batak Church are administered by the Federal Council of the Great Synod, made up of both Batak and missionary members. This body cares for the central funds of the Church, directs the theological and normal school, conducts the foreign missions and evangelistic work of the Church and initiates the business of the Great Synod.

The finances of the local Batak church are of two categories : one-fourth of all local gifts is sent to the Central Church Fund, to maintain the training school, the missionary work of the Church, the church paper, building fund, poor fund, travel budgets, and to assist weak churches and the general expenses of administration. Three-fourths of the gifts of the congregation are used for the upkeep of their own church, their share of the salary of the teacher-preacher and a proportion of the salary of the pastor of their circuit.

Within the scope of the Central Church Fund is a mutual benefit insurance plan for helping the pastors' widows and

meeting the funeral expenses. On the death of a pastor or teacher-preacher every church leader in Batakland is assessed for the support of the widow. Each minister also gives one *guilder* a month to a pension fund from which he receives the equivalent of half salary on retirement. Theological students may, in case of need, receive financial help up to one half of their expenses from the Central Church Fund, the student's family providing the balance. The money for local church buildings is paid by the congregations to the Central Fund in order that the property may be held by the Batak Church.

The local churches also support their foreign missions through the Central Fund. Contributions to missions are raised by means of church festivals. The churches of a district unite in an annual fête to which people bring gifts of produce which are sold at auction. These festivals are popular occasions which draw great numbers together for several days of festivity, musical competitions and social activities. As much as 20,000 *guilders* for missions are realised by these methods.

Two large modern hospitals under mission direction and staffed by Bataks, together with a network of sub-hospitals and clinics, are, with the exception of the salaries of the mission doctors, financed entirely from Sumatran sources. Government subsidies, profits from industrial workshops and fees of European and Batak patients maintain this medical service. The Batak churches have taken the unusual step of providing 2,000 *guilders* a year for the travelling expenses of their missionaries from the profits of their church paper. A mission house costing 4,000 *guilders* was entirely provided by a large group of Bataks who appealed for a missionary to live among them. The Batak Christian community has also begun to help the mission in the extension of its large institutional plants, by subscribing to a bond issue by which a large wing has been added to the Balige hospital. Three-fourths of the 80,000 *guilders* required were granted by Government and the 20,000 *guilders* balance was advanced by the Bataks themselves.

By these various methods, and by the strictest possible economy in administration, self-denial on the part of the missionaries, scaling down expenditure to the supporting power

of the people and the magnificent co-operation of the Bataks themselves, the work of the Batak Church has gone forward in the face of the complete embargo upon the *reichsmark* and the cutting off of every *pfennig* of support from Germany—except the salaries of the missionaries.

In Batakland great masses of Christians live beside solid areas of 'heathen.' Of the 800,000 non-Christians, one-fourth are Mohammedans and the remaining 600,000 Animists have been accepted by the 400,000 Christians as their own missionary responsibility. A Batak Missionary Society is carrying Christianity into the heart of this non-Christian territory. The Church has a vision of the whole Batak race brought under the sway of Christ and is pressing toward this goal. During the last decade of withdrawal of missionaries and funds the native Church has stepped forward and filled the gaps. With the appointment of sixty Batak missionaries, supported by the Society's annual budget of 20,000 *guilders*, the work has extended beyond the borders of Batakland to the Mohammedan Residency of Atjeh and the low lands east of the mountains. The Batak is a natural missionary; his aggressiveness, mental and physical energy, belief in himself and in his faith, and his boldness, coupled with a genius for colonisation and a tendency to emigrate over the Malay world, are qualities which fit this hardy race for wide missionary service in the Archipelago. The position of this Church is unique in that it is assisted by only twenty-five German evangelistic missionaries and the main burden of evangelism and church extension is carried by the congregations themselves.

Factors in the policy of the Rhenish Mission which appear to be responsible for the Church's strength are:

1. The highly centralised nature of the mission, which has made possible a unified plan of occupation, a common programme, aim and emphasis, and an organisation that touches the life of every church and school and every member and pupil in the territory.
2. The whole responsibility for Christianising the Toba Bataks has been given to one mission. Statesmanlike plans have resulted and there has been a united approach

to a task which has called forth the highest devotion and greatest ability from the missionaries.

3. The early introduction of the policy of giving no financial support to the Batak churches.
4. The availability of government subsidies for church schools.
5. The use of the teacher-preacher for the pastoral care of the churches.
6. The development of lay service to the Church through the presbyter.
7. The adjustment of the *adat*, or customary law of the people, to the Christian way of life.
8. The use of Christian colonies as a means of evangelism.
9. The adjustment of the mission enterprise in organisation and equipment to the supporting power of the Bataks.

To these must be added the determinative characteristics of the Batak people:

1. Their natural endowment with superior qualities.
2. The physical and mental vigour of the people, for which the climate of Batakland is to a large degree responsible.
3. The isolation of the nation which has furthered their racial solidarity and cultural and political independence.
4. An animistic religion which has not offered the resistance to Christianity of one of the great ethnic faiths.
5. A genius for colonisation.
6. The missionary enthusiasm of the people.

The Korean Church

The Korean Church is the youngest of the large Younger Churches of Asia. It is only four years since the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of Protestant missionary work was observed. The field is notable for the speed with which the Christian movement has progressed, the church comity practised, the intensity and singleness of purpose of the movement, the central place of the Bible in the church programme, the use of a particular missionary method, the large number of unpaid lay workers and the unusual degree of independence attained by the churches.

Six mission groups are working in Korea. Of these the Presbyterian, comprising four missionary societies, and the Methodist Episcopal, comprising two, have developed by far the most extensive work. In these two denominational groups 215,000 of the 240,000 baptised Christians and catechumens are enrolled. Of the 475,000 adherents of the Protestant Churches, 400,000 are connected with the Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal Churches. The Korean Presbyterian Church includes about three-fourths of the Protestants of the country.

Korea provides an excellent 'case study' of a unique method and philosophy of missionary activity—the 'Nevius Method.' Six years after the opening of the Presbyterian work in Korea, Dr John L. Nevius, of the Northern Presbyterian Mission in Shantung, was invited by the new mission to explain the principles of missionary work he had used with success in China. These principles became the basis of the organisation of the Presbyterian Church in Korea. They may be briefly stated as follows:

1. Personal missionary evangelism with wide itineration.
2. The central position of the Bible in every department of the work. Systematic Bible study for every Christian under his group leader or circuit helper.
3. Self-propagation: every believer becomes a teacher, and at the same time a learner from someone better versed in the knowledge of the Bible than he.
4. Self-government: every group of Christians works under their chosen unpaid leader; these groups are organised in circuits under paid helpers, who are later supplanted by ordained pastors.
5. Self-support: all church buildings are provided by the congregations; each group as soon as it is founded begins to pay toward the circuit helper's salary; schools receive a part subsidy, but only in their initial stages; no pastors are supported by foreign funds.
6. Strict discipline, based upon Biblical teaching.
7. Co-operation or, at least, agreed territorial division with other bodies.
8. General helpfulness where possible in the economic problems of the people.

We will discuss only those principles of the 'Nevius Method' which bear upon the development of financially independent churches, viz.—the place of the Bible in the life of the Church, the training of lay workers for evangelism and group leadership and the policy of self-support, including the building of churches and the maintenance of church work.

The whole Bible was very early translated into the language of the common people and was sold widely throughout the country. From the beginning, systematic instruction in the Scriptures has been a central feature of the mission's programme. Individual leaders soon became proficient Bible students and teachers. The whole Church attends Sunday school and every member, from young children to grandparents, is enrolled in a class. In 1937, 184,500 people were enrolled in the Sunday schools of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches in Korea, with an average weekly attendance of 108,931. On the Sabbath the Korean churches are busy from morning until night with their Sunday schools. Under Korean leadership groups meet in different parts of the building and give place to other classes awaiting their turn.

Supplementing the Sabbath study of the Scriptures is the remarkable Bible training plan whereby adult members are prepared as Bible teachers and evangelists. Year by year special Bible training courses are held in the circuits of the Church and in many individual churches. These continue from five to twelve days and aggregate an annual attendance of over 100,000 members. An army of men and women, the rank and file of the Church, are thus inspired and trained as teachers of inquirers and also as lay evangelists. The cost of this great organisation of Bible study is met by the people themselves, who pay their own travelling expenses and provide their own food. In each of the mission stations Bible institutes are held annually for periods of one to two and a half months over a course of five years, during which time the major portions of both the Old and New Testaments are studied. Thousands of people who cannot attend these special training classes are enrolled in correspondence Bible study courses. The study of the Bible is required of all students in the mission academies

and colleges. The teaching and preaching of the Scriptures is also given a prominent place in the hospitals.

The Church has stressed personal witness and evangelism as the privilege of every Christian. Widespread itineration, tract distribution, and sale of the Gospels has been carried on in every district of Korea. Evangelistic work in hospitals has resulted in the founding of many churches, and preaching bands of students have inspired the weaker churches to activity, won many converts and developed able evangelists among the college graduates. 'The great majority of the members of the Korean Church to-day have been won not so much by the evangelism of the foreign missionary as by the personal witness and work of the rank and file of the church members, whose transformed lives, as well as their words, have borne testimony to the saving power of the Son of God '[1]

A result of the emphasis upon Bible study and evangelism is found in the willing service of the unpaid preacher and teacher, by whom great numbers of the village congregations are led. This has made possible the supervision of large circuits by the paid ministry and the attainment of self-support by seventy-five per cent of the Korean churches. It has resulted in a degree of evangelisation of the rural population attained in few lands. Churches are planted in two-thirds of the 1,970 counties of Korea and it is estimated that a Christian church is within walking distance of one in five villages in Korea.

The policy of the Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal Missions has been to limit the use of foreign funds in the work of evangelism, in the belief that the Christians themselves should shoulder this responsibility. The main objective has been the founding of an independent Church and the development of the work on a level which the newly-established Church is able to maintain. The erection of church buildings has been left to the Korean congregations, who have built as they were able. New Christian groups meet in the homes of the members. They worship for years in straw-roofed dwellings, whose

[1] *Report of The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Chosen Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*

partitions are knocked out to accommodate the growing congregations, until the people themselves are able to erect more spacious buildings. The congregations pay the salaries of all ordained pastors and, with the exception of the more backward districts, the salaries of unordained men in charge of circuits. Where single churches are too small to provide the whole salary of a pastor they unite in circuits of two to fifteen churches. In these cases the deacons and officers lead the services and preach in the intervals between pastoral visits. This self-reliant spirit has not only gradually covered Korea with churches but has inspired generous giving for the current expenses and undertakings of a great Church.

The budget of the General Assembly, together with the expenses of the eight departmental Boards, is a charge upon all of the 3,000 organised Presbyterian congregations of Korea. They are asked to contribute 5% of their income to the total budget of the following Boards, whose proportionate expenditure is:

	Per cent.
Christian Education	13·0
Rural Work	1·6
Foreign Missions	40·0
Home (National) Missions	29·0
Student Aid	3·9
Special Charities	1·0
Leper Work	3·7
Christian Endeavour	4·0
Theological Seminary	1·8
General Administration	2·0

In addition, the heavy cost of the railway fares of the 350 delegates to the annual meeting of the General Assembly is levied upon the churches.

This apportionment is organised under a 'Systematic Giving' Board, which through circulation of literature and visitation among the local churches advertises the needs of each department. The 'Systematic Giving' Board has educated the Church in Christian stewardship. A supply of

simple pamphlets and illustrated charts and graphs related to the duty and privilege of giving has been issued, suitable for Sunday schools, homes and churches. Record sheets, pledge cards and other devices for systematising giving have been supplied. This literature has gone into virtually every local church and Christian home.

Church-support is given a clear Biblical basis and is related directly to the Bible study of the church membership. The aim is to identify Christian giving with Christian experience and to help the individual to an understanding of the Church's needs and the nature of the objects for which his help is asked. Tithing under this system has become a common, though not a general practice, among the Korean Christians. By these various methods there has been a steady increase in the total contributions to the Church. In 1936 the Presbyterian churches of Korea gave a total of 1,765,552 yen[1] for their own work, or an average of 10·75 yen for each baptised member and catechumen. The record of individual giving of the Methodist Episcopal churches for the same year is even more notable,—the average gift amounting to 15·20 yen (about $5·00 U.S. or £1 sterling).

For every yen spent by the mission in its school and church work, not including missionaries' salaries, the Korean Presbyterian Church raises 6 yen. In 1936 of the total budget of 87,273 yen of the six mission hospitals, 79,000 yen came from Korean sources. The Korean General Assembly, through its Board of Foreign Missions, has maintained three ordained foreign missionaries in Shantung, China, where the Korean Women's Missionary Society also supports a woman evangelist. The Board of Home Missions maintains a number of pastors, evangelists and Biblewomen among the large Korean populations in Japan, Manchuria and Shanghai. Each of the twenty-four Korean presbyteries has its own missionary society which is supporting evangelists in its unoccupied territory. 3,000 of the 3,800 churches under the General Assembly are fully organised and are financially independent. The remaining 800 are working toward this goal. Annually many of these

[1] $608,812 (U.S.); £121,762 (sterling).

are moving into the independent class and new church groups are formed which are assisted for a period.

The Karen Church

A full century ago the desire of a backward yet virile people for racial integrity in their religious life and institutions, and the revolt of a group of young missionaries from an extreme system of mission subsidy, produced the independent Karen Church of Burma, which with 80,000 communicant members and 400,000 adherents, is a classic example of complete financial independence among the Younger Churches of Asia.

The first missionaries of the American Baptist Mission discouraged their Burmese converts from giving money to the Church on the ground that the Grace of God is a free gift and should not be confused with the Buddhist teaching of earning merit. Not only were preachers paid by the mission, but laymen were paid for witnessing and children were paid for attending school. The missionary alone could be pastor of a church; nationals were tract distributors and itinerating exhorters. In time, under this 'Moulmein system,' the spiritual vigour of the Church was reduced to a negligible condition.

The coming into the Burman churches of great numbers of Karens, the 'wild cattle of the jungle,' upset all mission tradition. There was no provision in churches or schools for the use of the Karen language and the newcomers were considered of secondary importance and inferior to the more cultured Burmese. The Karens presently became restless, dissatisfied at losing their identity, and eager for independence. From the outset they contributed liberally to the Church and as early as 1831 they started to build their own preaching places. In 1838 the Christian group near Moulmein gave Mr Vinton Rs.70 for evangelistic work. Four years later the Karens of Newville contributed Rs.200 in materials and labour for their new church. In 1845 a Christian Karen undertook the entire support, at Rs.100 a year, of the preacher of his church.

'Under these conditions the early Karen missionaries would have been untrue to the developing churches had they not demanded the right of self-support for all the Karen churches in Burma. Everything was in their favour. There was a racial willingness—the Karens by nature share their possessions. The "Moulmein system" was intolerable to the self-respecting Karen workers. The centre of gravity had shifted from a handful of missionaries with a few followers to a growing Church that was considered merely an adjunct to the Burman Mission. Vinton urged autonomy of race and work. The Moulmein Karen Mission never realised this completely until 1883. Other Karen stations, except Tavoy, had it from the beginning.' [1]

Developments in the United States furthered this independent trend of the Karen churches. The collapse of the land banks in 1839 caused a $21,950 deficit in the budget of the Baptist Board. New home mission churches in the Middle West diverted interest from the foreign field, and the split in the Baptist denomination of 1845 occasioned a still larger shrinkage of income. The Karen Christians accepted the challenge of the situation and continued to build their own churches and schools and to pay the stipends of their pastors and the operating expenses of their new movement. They preached Christianity as their own, rather than a foreign, religion. The younger missionaries finally won in the struggle with tradition and broke the 'Moulmein system' of subsidy. They introduced the Karen language in Moulmein, built a new Karen station, founded a theological school, developed a system of English education and secured racial and financial autonomy for the Karens in the face of strong opposition. The Karens threw themselves into the work of building the new station, cleared the jungle, erected houses and school buildings and made roads. They also began to give generously for the extension of the Gospel. In 1848 the Missionary Union reported that the Karen contribution for their own missionary work averaged nearly half a rupee per member.

In 1853 a majority of the missionaries among the Karens,

[1] From Rev. C. L. Klein's notes, American Baptist Mission, Toungoo, Burma.

assured of the loyalty of their people, resigned from the Baptist Society in protest against a policy of restriction upon the Karen Church recommended by a Board deputation sent out from New York. Mr Harris led the secession from the Society by founding the Karen Mission at Shwegyin on the basis of complete self-support. For years he had no relations with the Board. The work was advanced only as fast as the Karens showed willingness to shoulder the load and contribute money to it. There has been absolute financial independence in the district ever since.

Many years later an elder of the Shwegyin Church described their policy as: 'No money help from others. Pay your own bills. Lift the race by education. Give each generation better ideals. Provide endowments for the work. Provide a leadership a little ahead of the members in education. Finally, evangelise new peoples. It is the duty of every mission thus to develop shoots from the root stock.' The elder went on to say that without self-dependence the people would not put their heart into the work. They would give because there was glory attached to giving, and when that selfish interest was no longer realised they would complain of the burden they had to carry. The Karens have shown an undiminished loyalty through a long period of years because the Church is their own concern and they are determined to make it a successful enterprise. With this loyalty there has grown a sense of stewardship, a provision for an adequate ministry and an enthusiasm for evangelism in home and foreign missions.

The record of *per capita* giving of the Karen Christians shows that the size of the contribution does not depend on the income of the members. In the prosperous Bassein field the average gift per member per year is about Rs.2, while in the backward district of Shwegyin where the soil is poor and many households have a struggle for existence, the gifts average Rs.4 *per capita*. Along with this high percentage of giving in the Shwegyin field we find the best record of personal work and evangelism of all the Karen churches.

Included in the self-support as practised in the Karen Church is support of the ministry, both ordained and lay;

entire cost of church buildings and current expenses; evangelism of non-Christians by Karens; total cost of schools for Christian, and to some extent non-Christian, Karens; training colleges for the ministry. No help is received from abroad or from the Government.

The Secretary of the Baptist Mission at Rangoon sums up the results of this long record of independence.

Among the non-Burman churches I believe that the results have been good in increased independence and in increased zeal and evangelistic effort. This is probably because it has been possible for the people gradually to work up to the idea and because the ideal of self-support appeals to them. The salaries of the Karen pastors are above the standard of the people, except in towns. In villages where most of the people are cultivators they see very little real money and the pastors there have advantages beyond those available to the village people,—notably an English education for their children. The Karen village churches make payments in kind. The Lord's Acre Plan is used occasionally for the support of schools. There is some tithing among teachers, but little otherwise. Most of the funds are raised by church offerings and subscriptions. There are eleven Karen stations in Burma.' [1]

The Chota Nagpur Church

The Province of Bihar, India, furnishes an example of a completely self-supporting church in Chota Nagpur where the Evangelical Lutheran Church, established by Johannes Gossner of Germany in 1845, has gathered 130,000 baptised Christians. The Christian population is found principally among the Oraon and Munda aboriginal tribes and constitutes in the Ranchi area as high a proportion as one in seven of the total population.

Though Chota Nagpur is the richest mineral district of India with large deposits of coal, iron, copper, manganese and graphite, yet it is peopled by one of the most economically backward groups. The Oraons and Mundas are agriculturalists but are entirely dependent upon Hindu caste neighbours for making their earthen utensils, baskets, cloth, and musical and

[1] From Notes by Rev. H. W. Smith, Secretary of the American Baptist Mission, Rangoon.

hunting instruments. The Church has not taught the people these simple cottage industries.

The Chota Nagpur Church is entirely free of foreign administrative control but in recent years it has sought the advice and co-operation of the All-India Lutheran Federation. Due to the exigencies of the great war, for the last twenty years the Church has had complete responsibility for the support of its pastors and catechists. Since 1931 it has also made a brave attempt to maintain its own institutions, in which it had been assisted by the Lutheran Churches in America. In the last seven years, pastors, catechists and teachers have been working for whatever remuneration the Church could give them, which has often been less than one-half the minimum salary standard, yet during this period candidates with B.A., B.D., and M.A. degrees have come forward to work for their Church on this greatly reduced basis.

Administering the Church is the *Mahasabha*, or Great Assembly, which consists of the ordained clergy and lay representatives elected from each parish. The area of the Church is divided into 28 districts, subdivided into 58 parishes. Each ordained minister cares for a parish with about a thousand communicants and 2,000 or more baptised members. The German missionaries are members of the church they serve. The average annual contribution of the rural church members is about 9 annas. A wide variation in size of gifts is found between parishes of similar economic strength due to the differing ability of pastors in encouraging their members to give. As a stimulus to giving, the Church has classified offerings under various heads, such as special communion offerings, thank-offerings, harvest offerings, first meal offerings and birth and marriage offerings. The Church receives an income from its own lands and also encourages its members in the dedication of the daily 'handful of rice' to the church. Prior to 1932, the 'handful of rice' brought in an income of over Rs.5,000 and the church lands Rs.1,300, but under the subsequent agricultural depression, these sources have yielded less than half these amounts.

The rule of the Church that pastors cannot engage in

secular occupations has had to be waived since the depression and many are now cultivating land to supplement their reduced salaries.

The budget of the Church for 1937, amounting to Rs.124,868, shows a deficit of Rs.48,040, as follows:

	Income. Rs.	*Expenditure.* Rs.
Pastoral and Catechist support	41,760	74,962
Schools . . .	32,550	38,432
Central organisation, Journal, widows, pensions, travel, etc. .	2,518	11,474
Deficit	48,040	..
TOTAL	124,868	124,868

The very large discrepancy in the budget between income and expenditure has been met by huge cuts in the salaries of pastors, catechists and teachers, and by loans to meet fixed charges.

The inability of the Church to collect the money required for pastoral work from the districts is leading to decentralisation, each district raising the funds for its own work with a consequent serious reduction of its contribution to headquarters.

It is too early to forecast the probable lines of development in the Chota Nagpur Church and the results of its struggle to maintain its integrity and independence of foreign support. Dissensions within the church organisation are endangering its life. The decentralisation tendency and the absence of a strong directing influence may well have a more serious effect than the lowering of salary scales. The experience of Chota Nagpur is a valuable test case of a Younger Church that has been thrown somewhat prematurely entirely upon its own financial resources.

CHAPTER XII

Planning for the Future

WE have endeavoured to show that the economic and social influences which surround the Younger Churches are forces which shape and to a certain degree govern the course of the Christian movement. In this environment the Christian convert must struggle to reach the fullness of the stature of Christ. We have tried to demonstrate that Christianity has often been the means of disintegrating the economic and social life of the convert and that it has not yet succeeded in creating a new environment to take the place of the old, nor yet adjusted itself to the supporting capacity of the environment.

We have compared the task of the Church in the non-Christian lands to that of the architect, who must consider the structure he is building in relation to the area and nature of the foundations, the strength of the material and the load to be carried. It is clear that the attention of missions has been concentrated upon the model of the Church which it is hoped will arise and that it has given far less attention to the adequacy of foundations and structure. In many fields it is admitted that the foundations are inadequate, the structure weak and the load too heavy. This admission is borne out by the studies which have been made by the Christian Colleges in preparation for the Tambaram meeting.

Evangelism, education and medical work are the three dimensions in which the missionary movement was conceived. The economic and social environment of the Church forms a fourth dimension whose importance has only slowly been recognised. Now when the structure has reached a considerable height it is found to be insecure because of the neglect of the fourth dimension, which to a large extent has been taken for granted by the western Church, and has been considered as an incidental rather than as a determinative

factor in the progress of the Church. The Church in many parts of Asia is perilously near a position of stalemate because it has ignored, underestimated and not understood this factor. Christian strategy demands that the Church should deal with the fourth dimension as seriously and with as much energy as it deals with the other three.

Poverty, inefficiency, debt, extravagance, low earning power, tenancy, bad housing, liquor, narcotics, rural backwardness, city demoralisation, the bonds of caste, family and clan, the break-up of old sanctions, the calls of nationalism, communism and licence upon emancipated youth,—all go to make up the formidable burden which the Christian communities of the East must carry. Modern life increases rather than diminishes the burden, and even the Church has added not a little to the total load. If the Church is to go forward in the face of this aggregation of social and economic handicaps it can only be by a united, comprehensive, sustained, whole-hearted and intelligent effort.

Widening the Foundations.

We will first consider ways by which the foundations of the growing Church may be widened.

1. An obvious method is to unite the strength of several weak denominational groups of Christians into one congregation, with one pastor to support, one church building to keep up and one programme and corporate life to maintain. This is well illustrated in the field of the English Baptist Mission in Baraut, India, where several city congregations have opened their doors to members of other denominational groups who participate in the activities and responsibilities of the Church as full members. By this means these congregations have been materially strengthened and isolated Christians of other denominations, without churches in these centres, have been shepherded into a living fellowship.

In the mining centre of Elizabethville, Belgian Congo, where Bantu Christians of many denominations are employed,

one church of over a thousand members has been formed under the leadership of the Methodist Episcopal Mission. Newcomers bring introductions from their respective missions, and thirteen different denominations, most of whom would not be able to establish a church of their own in Elizabethville, have asked the Methodist Episcopal Church to care for their members during their stay on the Copper Belt. This has made possible the erection of an imposing church building in this capital city of Katanga Province which unites all the Protestants in one corporate body. It goes without saying that this congregation is self-supporting. We have already spoken of the United Missions in the Copper Belt where a Union Church is established for the thousands of Africans working in and around the Rhodesian mines.[1] Co-operation of this kind is possible in every field of the Younger Churches where scattered Christians are gathered in a limited area.

2. The colony is a possible means of widening the base of the Christian movement. Although the Christian colony has failed in certain places and under certain conditions to meet the expectations of its promoters, there are numerous instances in which it has proved a powerful means, not only of bringing prosperity to the limited number of those who enjoy its privileges, but of extending the boundaries of the Church. The colony is not a cure-all for the difficulties of an oppressed or inefficient people; it is a venture in social and economic planning which tests human determination and character and requires definite conditions of circumstance, organisation and management. Our chapter on Christian Colonies indicates that where men can meet these conditions, the colony has been a source of Christian leadership, of economic prosperity and of evangelism.

3. Emigration provides another method of widening the foundations of the Church. The Church of Tinnevelly, South India, has been strengthened during two generations by the continuous emigration of its members to Ceylon,

[1] *Vide* p. 22-24.

Burma and Malaya. Five per cent of the Christian population is seeking industrial and professional openings in other lands. The study of the relation of emigration to the Tinnevelly Church [1] reports that this mobility has resulted in the widening of mental horizons, the inculcation of new skills, the acquiring of ambition, the introduction of new industrial activities and an increase in the earning capacity of the Christian community. It has also been a source of financial assistance to the home churches through the funds remitted by the migrant workers.

We have previously noted the economic relationship between the large number of Chinese Christians, who have emigrated from South China, and the prosperity of the communities in Kwantung and Fukien Provinces. In the cities of Swatow and Amoy we visited schools, colleges and hospitals whose buildings have been erected by the gifts of Chinese living in North America, Straits Settlements and Netherlands Indies. The regular gifts of overseas members materially assist the upkeep of many weak rural churches throughout South China. This Christian solidarity is an expression of the close family and clan ties of the Oriental and can be used to widen the foundations of the Church.

4. The outstanding Churches in Asia are those which make the widest use of their lay members and in this way multiply the services of their paid staff and extend the influence of Christianity in the neighbourhood. The many thousands of laymen and women who are voluntarily bearing the burden of their Churches form a broad and firm base for the church structure which will offset the withdrawal of foreign workers and funds.

5. A rural unit whereby a church widens its sphere of service to touch many sides of community life is yet another method of extending the foundations of the Christian enterprise. A church that interprets its religious responsibilities to include a concern for the health, education, living conditions,

[1] Survey made by St John's College, Palamcottah, under the direction of Prof. M. V. Subrahmanyam, M.A.

economic improvement and civic welfare of its community, and takes practical steps to make their environment a place in which it is more possible to live the full Christian life, will increase its contacts and will present Christ in ways that will draw men and women to Him because His teachings will be intelligible to them. The Bo Hie Dong and Tomiai rural parishes in China and Japan, already described, are only two of many examples of this type of rural service among the Younger Churches.

6. Still another type of foundation-widening is the intelligent selection and use of elements in a people's cultural heritage which are not out of harmony with Christ's teachings. Here the work of the German missionaries, Gütmann among the Chagga of Tanganyika, and Nommensen among the Bataks of Sumatra, is outstanding and will repay careful examination.

'This awakening of an appreciation of the traditional social life of a people led Bruno Gutmann to maintain both in theory and practice that missions are not called upon to destroy that characteristic life of a people (*Volkstum*) which has developed with all its orders and obligations under God's creating hand. Rather, they ought to act as a conservative force in these days of collapse of primitive culture, to counteract actively the destructive, individualising, atomising influence of European civilisation, and to utilise those traditional obligations which still exist for the upbuilding of the Christian community. . . . It is the very nature of human society that there have always been marriage, family, chiefs, elders, age-groups, neighbourhood groupings and so forth. . . . Gutmann calls them "primordial ties" (*urtümliche Bindungen*) and is convinced that in them there is given not only moral value but at least a modicum of the divine order. To conserve them and transfer them to the Christian community is, he believes, not only possible, but commanded by the will of God the Creator.' [1]

Nommensen, as we have seen, followed this principle by conserving the *adat* of the Batak race and harmonising it

[1] From Martin Schlunk's article, "Theology and Missions in Germany in Recent Years," *I.R.M.*, July 1938.

with the teachings and practice of the Church. We suggest that a study of such aspects of the cultural heritage as the family and clan systems of the Far East, the brotherhood and *panchayats* of Indian caste, and great racial and family festivals and celebrations, may provide foundation stones that can be used for the Christian structure.

7. Equally rewarding would be studies in the sources of motivation, the ideology and ultimate endeavour of the peoples of the Younger Churches. That these differ from those of western people is generally admitted; that they are not well understood is unquestionable, and that an intelligent utilisation of these psychological forces in the building of the Christian enterprise would release new power for the Church is highly probable.

Strengthening the Structure.

After widening the base, the next concern of the architect is to strengthen the structural material of the building he is enlarging.

1. We suggest as a first step the method which more than any other has built up the great Korean Church—the study of the Bible. An intimate knowledge of the Word of God has achieved four vital results for Korean Christians. It has grounded them in the Christian faith; it has equipped thousands of church members to teach others; it has inspired and trained other thousands to carry the Gospel to unevangelised parts and has educated the rank and file in Christian stewardship and support of the Church. It is important to note that neither Bible study nor Christian stewardship are matters which can be left to exhortation alone. The wide study of the Scriptures and the practice of individual giving have been matters of such deep conviction on the part of missionaries and Korean leaders as to have been embodied in the policies of the Church and systematically organised and promoted during a generation of effort.

A member of the East Java Netherlands Missionary

Society told me that in a recent survey of the Christian homes in his district it had been found that the average gift to the Church of the families owning and using Bibles was more than twice that of families who had no Bible or who neglected to read it.

2. The Churches in Asia which are moving forward are those which are setting their memberships definite and responsible tasks in the interests of the church and its neighbourhood. This applies to all members, but particularly to the young people of the congregation. A church which has few or no contacts with the community outside its doors only with difficulty holds its youth, who have a hundred secular contacts and crave an outlet in action for their energy and idealism. This is one of the weakest points in the structure of many churches. The church that provides for its young people a programme of service in evangelism, education, health work and community welfare, will hold and permanently bind them to itself and the Christian cause.

3. The rural reconstruction programme that has been developed under the leadership of the Young Men's Christian Association of India at Martandam, Travancore, is a most promising and far-reaching measure. For over twenty years an experimental programme in strengthening the economic life of the Indian villager has been carried out, which includes improved farm methods, stock and garden products and foods, the introduction of new cottage industries, the more remunerative use of local materials, co-operative buying and selling, the discovery of new markets for local produce, and village and home improvements. From the training school at Martandam leaders of rural reconstruction have gone out to points in nearly every part of India. In 1937 we were told that thirty or more of the younger clergy of the Church of India in the Tinnevelly district, through training at Martandam, had invigorated the life of their parishes by using these practical reconstruction methods. Here is a principle which,

like leaven, has power to raise and sweeten the whole life of a rural community.

4. Co-operatives, if properly approached and organised and efficiently directed, have a field of incomparable usefulness in all the countries of the Younger Churches. As in the case of the Christian colony, the Christian co-operative has often seriously suffered from the inadequate selection of its members and from poor organisation and business management. The majority of Christian co-operatives have failed through not meeting one or more of the rudimentary conditions of success. Yet each country can point to a few conspicuously successful co-operative ventures. The most striking is the group of Christian co-operatives inspired and directed by the genius of Japan's Christian leader, Dr T. Kagawa. These have proved a boon to scores of thousands of rural workers and *bourgeoisie* in the cities. In Tokyo we visited two co-operative kitchens where each day 14,000 hygienically prepared meals are cooked and delivered to the houses of the workers ; a co-operative store and warehouse which supplies, at cost, daily necessities to 15,000 members ; a co-operative pawnshop and bank, with a turn-over of a million yen a year ; and a co-operative hospital with 150 beds, where first-class care and medical skill can be obtained at one-fourth of the charges of the private hospitals. Dr Kagawa interprets and preaches the Christian life as a co-operative venture and has thrown himself with intense application into the task of building up a Christian society by means of this principle.

We have already described the remarkable success of Sir Daniel Hamilton in building an agricultural colony at Gosaba, India, upon the co-operative principle. Here a strict selection of members and exceptional directive skill through a generation have had extraordinary results. To succeed, a co-operative demands no small degree of self-discipline and integrity in its members, and business acumen in its management. In the development of the former the Church can be of service to its members through definite education ; the latter can scarcely be supplied by the theo-

logically trained missionary or pastor and is a task for a specialist, commissioned by the Church to lead in a highly technical field.

5. Cottage industries if wisely selected with reference to raw materials and markets are a possible means of improved economic strength for the rural Christians of the Orient.

Dr J. B. Tayler of Yenching University has explored the possibility of introducing small unit and cottage industries in North China. He has experimented in the hamlets with small iron foundries, brick and pottery making, and weaving and mat work. The central ideas of Dr Tayler's plan have been to provide the North China farmer during the idle winter-bound months with some remunerative employment and to relate the small unit industry to locally available raw material. Difficulties encountered are the marketing of the product and the training of the farmer in an industrial technique in which he competes with trade guilds.

Bhatty points out that in India the Christian population is being ignored in the reconstruction programmes of the Congress Party and religious reform sects. The Harijan Sewak Sangh, which is active throughout India, is spending very large sums for the education and industrial training of the depressed classes, but has paid no attention to the needs of the Christian communities. The great reform programmes of the Congress Government are in the hands of leaders who have prominently in mind the pleasing of constituencies who can bestow political advancement. The Christian group is too weak politically to be considered. Bhatty says—'If we do not wake up to our responsibility for the village Christians in the matter of economic uplift they will be left behind in the general programme. . . . There is danger of their return to their old brotherhood if they find that we are unmindful of their needs.'

The only hope that Bhatty sees for the improvement of the Christian community is through a systematic, long-term, well-financed promotion of cottage industries. He has explored the possibilities in this field and has drawn up a plan for a

joint stock company to furnish training, tools and capital, and to provide buying and marketing facilities on a large scale to the Christian communities of the United Provinces. The four principles of the plan are—the industries selected should be capable of manufacture from local raw materials; they should not require the investment of large capital; they should not involve long periods of training; the people must be able to learn the new processes in their spare time.

Dr Ambedkar, President of the Reform Labour Party of Bombay, which is working for greater freedom for the depressed classes of India, urges the Christian Church to establish new industries and credit facilities to help break the vicious circle of poverty, lack of opportunity and immobility of Indian peasant labour.

6. A very large number of mission-led industries exist in India. Some of these industries are making a profit, more are barely subsisting and others are operated at a loss. Many were started in the early days of Indian Missions and are clinging to old fashioned lines of production, technique and marketing. Few industries take into account the swiftly changing needs of the Indian public. Often they work in isolation and ignorance of the experience of other Christian industries. A sample from a small mission industry in Central India, which employed a few workers in button-making for the local market, was accidentally shown to a manager of a button firm in North India, with the result that a standing order was placed for ten times the former capacity of the industry.

7. There are many commercial and industrial opportunities awaiting Indian Christian young men possessed of proper training, business connections and capital. Many of India's raw products are exported to foreign countries where they are processed or manufactured, shipped back to India and sold at a substantial profit. As we have seen, this sphere of commerce and industry has not been entered by the Indian Christian community. If Indian young men could be trained by western

Christian firms with trade connections in India, this field would offer a practical type of missionary service to the Christian West that would eventually bring new strength to the Indian Church.

Lightening the Load

It has been difficult for the West to imagine a type of Church other than the one with which, through generations of history, it has become familiar. Until recently western money was available to help the Younger Churches to perpetuate this conception. However, a growing spirit of nationalism, the decrease in foreign appropriations and the rapid growth in numbers of many Christian communities have lately combined to make a live issue of the problem of how the Younger Churches are to carry the load.

1. The assessment of all the congregations for a fixed proportion of the cost of general administration and Church Boards, as seen so clearly in Sumatra and Korea, not only lightens the load but distributes it over many shoulders. The diocesan or central fund in which the total strength of the church is pooled and made available for all, irrespective of carrying power, is based on the principle of the equalising of the load. In Sumatra, China and Japan we find strong city churches which have undertaken to help small, struggling congregations in their city or neighbourhood. Building loans are made on easy terms, and the resources in experience, leadership and counsel of the stronger church are placed at the disposal of the weaker group.

2. The use of the homes of church members for services and as centres of Christian community life, until the congregation can erect its own building, is a happy and natural way of lightening the load. By this means not only is the new group of Christians encouraged to pay its way, but from the very beginning the church in a special sense becomes its own. A building planned and erected through foreign aid does not command the same degree of affection and loyalty on the part of the members as one which embodies their spiritual aspira-

tions, the labour of their hands, and the dedication of their funds.

3. Some practical methods which have succeeded in lightening the load in the churches of various Asiatic countries have been described in detail in our chapter on Methods of Self-Support. Other methods which are yet in the experimental stage are of no less interest. These have been presented in the belief that the Church in all eastern lands is entering a period in which every possible resource of ingenuity, determination and courageous effort will be needed if the load is to be redistributed and lightened to a point where its own members can undertake to carry it.

4. There is evidence of the need for redistribution of the load through more general and liberal giving on the part of Christians in many of the Younger Churches. Here figures are more useful than argument. The Christians of Korea are living under some of the most difficult economic conditions of the Asiatic countries, yet Presbyterian members make an average annual contribution of 10 yen [1] to the Church, and Methodists give 14 yen.[2] The economically backward Karen Christians of Burma, as we have seen, give from Rs.4 to Rs.6 [3] per member. The average contribution of Christians in South India is approximately Re.1. The average gift of Christians in Central India is about half that amount. The Christians of a group of rural churches of the United Provinces, studied by Wiser, give 7 annas—rather less than half a rupee. Bhatty reports that the village Christians of the United Provinces pay to the *panchayats* in fines and levies an average of Rs.5 per family a year. Many college studies unite in the judgment that the Christian, both rural and urban, could give more to the Church than he is doing at present.

[1] \$3.60 (U.S.) or 14s. 6d. sterling.

[2] \$5.00 (U.S.) or £1 sterling.

(Statistics compiled by Mr Hugh Miller for the Federal Council of Churches of Korea, 1936.)

[3] Re.1 equals approximately 36 cents or 1s. 6d. sterling.

From such startling discrepancies in the amounts which people of comparable economic status are giving to the Church it would appear that a knowledge of the methods employed by the various denominational groups is of the utmost importance. Fortunately these methods are known and are available and some of them appear in the published material for the Tambaram meeting. These methods may be epitomised in the words—'religious education' and 'the practice of Christian stewardship.'

5. A final measure for lightening the financial load of the Church is related to the question of the preparation, status and living standards of the pastor. The weak rural church faces the dilemma of either having to be content with the services of a comparatively untrained spiritual leader, or having to struggle beyond its means to provide the salary of a trained minister. The lay preacher is one answer to this difficulty, but it is not the final answer if the rural church is to have the intimate nurture it requires for its full growth. A line of solution is indicated in various country parishes in Japan and China, where the trained pastor has accepted a rural community as the field of his life work and has identified himself with the people, sharing their economic struggles and living on a level which makes it possible for them to provide his support. This appears to be a sure way of tearing down the wall of separation that exists between a man who comes from the outside, and lives on a scale of standards alien to the people among whom he ministers. But there is no easy or single solution for this dilemma. It is a field that will continue to demand the most discerning study, for this question is tied to the still larger question of the nature of the Church and its function in oriental society.

Sources of Loss

In common with all human societies the Church is constantly gaining and losing strength. Large numbers of new members are attracted to it each year, while another group is lost through deaths, removals and defections. One denomina-

tion in the Far East reports a gain of over 12,000 new members in a year, but is silent about the very large losses that have been suffered during the same period. A first step toward improving the position of the Church is to attempt to check the losses, to find the points at which strength is ebbing and to take suitable measures to deal with these trends.

1. Social extravagance, wasteful expenditure and reckless borrowing weaken the life of the Christian and keep him in a state of economic bondage, in which he can only with great difficulty contribute to the Church or the educational needs of his family. A large proportion of the Christians of the Younger Churches are in debt. Many have inherited their indebtedness and are so deeply involved with creditors that they have no hope of ever freeing themselves. From forty to fifty per cent. of this mass of debt is occasioned by extravagant social expenditure, principally the cost of weddings, which is out of all proportion to the income of the people. The Church needs to place more emphasis in its preaching and teaching upon self-control, simplicity and economy in the life of the Christian. The better-placed members could render an invaluable service by taking the lead in simplifying social standards and setting a helpful example to the poorer Christians.

There are important examples of churches which are breaking with tradition in these questions of expenditure. A group of Christians in the Sialkot district of the Punjab have pledged themselves to limit the expenses of weddings to Rs.6, instead of the usual Rs.100 to Rs.200. The Bo Hie Dong parish in South China has a Mutual Benefit Burial Society, a co-operative venture, whereby each member is assessed $1·00 at the death of a fellow member and the total amount collected covers all the expenses. The funeral equipment is owned co-operatively and the cost of ceremonies and processions is rigidly controlled.

2. There is a steady loss to the Church of each country through the removal of members from one city to another, with a failure to identify themselves with a congregation in the

new community. As already noted, the membership turnover in some of the churches of the East amounts to as much as fifty and even eighty per cent. of the members in one year. This source of loss is one that can be controlled and minimised if it is made a matter of major concern to both pastors and members of all the churches, and provided that the denominational groups are in fraternal relations with one another.

3. Dr Ambedkar, leader of the depressed class community of Bombay Presidency, recently commented upon the scattered and weak position of the Christian community as follows, ‘ The six million Christians of India have no adequate idea of their strength. If steps were taken to unify them and make them aware of each other’s presence and of their common destiny they would soon be in a position to challenge their communal foes when they are unjustly treated. Indian Christians still think as Madrasis, Canarese, Tamils, Bengalis and Punjabis and not as an All-India Church. What Indian Christianity needs is an All-India Christian Council which could bring leaders together regularly from every territorial and language area and denominational group from one end of the country to the other. In such meetings the common problems, opportunities and responsibilities of the Christians of India would be discussed, an awareness of each other and of their corporate strength would be realised, a common policy with respect to Christian disabilities would be evolved and presently a true Christian community would be born. Such a movement would make an impression upon Hindus and Mohammedans. They rely upon the fact that the Christians are divided into a multitude of sects and territorial divisions and in these ways remain inarticulate and weak.’

A practical beginning of such corporate Christianity could be made in each city of India, where there is more than one denomination, by the forming of church federations. As already stated, the days of effective Government and missionary defence of the Indian Church are over and the time has come

when the Indian Church must be prepared to defend the lawful rights of its members if it is not to be placed in a helpless economic and social position.

4. There is serious loss to the Church through vocational education that is poorly adapted to the realities of the future environment of the pupil. Great numbers of Christian boys and girls in the Younger Churches are being educated away from their village surroundings, under conditions which are not fitting them for useful participation in the life of the rural community. On the other hand, much of the Christian education is preparing youth for economic, civil and educational activities in which opportunities are rapidly decreasing. Increasing numbers of educated young people in all the lands of Asia are unable to find employment. They have been unfitted for participation in the life of their home communities and find it difficult to fit into any other.

There are Christian schools which are seeking to remedy this state of affairs. At the Industrial Institute for Girls at Madura (American Board), the pupils spend half of their time in the classroom and half in the various activities of the school farm and model Indian rural homestead, and are prepared to return to their villages as efficient members of the farming community.

5. A fourth serious loss to the Christian movement of the Younger Churches is the inadequate preparation of the district missionary and pastor for dealing with realities. Theology, exegesis, homiletics and Church history do not equip a man to meet the desperate needs of village Christians whose wheat has been blighted from mildew, whose hogs are stricken with cholera, who have given the bulk of their harvest to the Government revenue officer and to the money-lender, and who are facing starvation. There is an alarming loss in sending men overseas, and training nationals on the field, who are prepared to deal only with the spiritual condition of the people and who cannot concern themselves effectively with their economic and social conditions. The two are so closely related that it is

often impossible permanently to improve the one without dealing with the other.

Removing the Obstacles.

After efforts have been made to discover and eradicate the sources of loss within the Church there must come attempts at removing obstacles without.

The economic and social obstacles to the progress of the Church are many and formidable. The Church can give a powerful lead on questions which yield to public opinion, like temperance, purity, public health, economy, the cinema, etc. A far greater number of obstacles can only be tackled adequately through legislation and Government action. In the wide field of wage scales, tenancy, labour contracts, debt, narcotics and opium control, the traffic in women and children, child labour, and working conditions in factories, mines and plantations the Church's efforts in order to be effective must be related to Government action and legal processes. At this point we are again led to the fundamental need of the Christian community for united and corporate action.

In considering ways of helping the Younger Churches to deal effectively with their environment certain principles, vitally related to the growth of the universal Church, must be kept in mind. Wise statesmanship requires that the Christian enterprise be considered as a whole ; that a long and unhurried view be taken of it ; that it be considered in all its relationships ; that the sources of weakness and loss be found and removed and that the obstacles to progress be studied. When these steps have been taken the Church will be in a better position to discover the carrying capacity of the Christian community and to adjust the load to the capacity. Such procedure will throw light upon the nature of the future Christian movement in the lands of the Younger Churches and upon the most fruitful forms of co-operation that may be given by the churches of the West.

A task of such magnitude cannot be dealt with solely by an international organisation. The problems are too numerous and vast and, at the same time, too localised and specialised

to be handled effectively at long range by a central bureau. Certain general aspects can be dealt with from a centre like Geneva, London or New York, but if progress is to be made trained leadership and sustained effort through a period of years is required in every major field of the Younger Churches. The problems can only be dealt with effectively on the field and with the co-operation of national and local Christian leaders.

The great size and diversity of countries like India and China are such that it is doubtful whether their church problems could be handled with advantage by a national approach alone. The economic and social conditions of Hupei and Kwantung, or of the Punjab and Madras, reveal as wide variations as between those of countries of Eastern and Western Europe. While the National Christian Councils could usefully serve in co-ordinating effort and pooling results, the leadership and driving force should be centred so far as possible in Provincial Christian Councils.

A department of the economic and social environment of the Church would require the united backing of both the Younger and Older Churches. While it is not probable that every missionary society could at once advantageously appoint men and women specially equipped for studying the economic and social problems in their fields, the recognition by the sending Churches and Younger Churches that this approach is an integral part of the Christian enterprise would be an important step. From time to time national and missionary experts could be assigned for periods of service under the direction of National and Provincial Councils, and as need arose, positions calling for trained workers could be filled by nationals and missionaries working either in their own denominational groups or on a union scheme. A field department of the environment of the Church with a relatively small personnel could serve interdenominationally, since it would tackle problems that affect the life of all the churches.

The studies in the economic and social environment of the Church which have been made in preparation for the Tambaram meeting can only be looked upon as a preliminary

step in a long, sustained process of examination of the position of the Christian movement in relation to its environment. The following list includes some of the major and universal problems that would reward long term studies by the Christian Church—

The use and control of narcotics.
The liquor traffic.
Land tenancy.
Indebtedness.
Colonies, land settlement and migration.
Small unit and cottage industries.
Co-operative credit; banking, marketing, buying, savings.
The Christian community and the larger commercial field.
Vocational and business training.
Mission industries.
Rural reconstruction.
Method of promoting Christian solidarity.
Christian stewardship.
Methods of self-support.
The *biradari*; the *panchayat*; the *adat*.
The family and clan systems.
The cultural heritage, psychology, ideology.
Feasts, festivals, family and group celebrations.
Youth in relation to the Church.
The Church and the intelligentsia.
The Church and the migrant worker.
The rural Church unit.

Fortunately the Church has at hand in the Christian college and university its own instruments for leading such a practical study programme. The faculties of economics, sociology, religion and psychology have people who are trained for research in many aspects of Church life. A comprehensive programme of studies extending over a period of years would enable the institutions to include in their curricula courses of study and lines of research within the scope of their departments, and at the same time related to the needs of the Christian community. Condidates for B.A., M.A. and B.D. degrees could be assigned to undertake

theses upon subjects that would throw light upon special economic, social and religious situations.

Under this plan the Church and College would be drawn together in a new working relationship—the College providing its technical skill and leadership for elucidating some of the most baffling problems of the Church and the Church guiding the College in selecting questions for study out of the realities of its own experience, and later building new policies upon the findings of College research.

Research Studies in the Economic and Social Environment of the Indian Church

College.	*Study.*	*Directed by*
American College, Madura. (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.)	Economic and social conditions of the Christian communities of the three chief Churches in Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly Districts, South India: (*a*) The Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. (*b*) The Madura Church Council. (*c*) The Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church.	J. S. Ponniah, M.A.
Andhra Christian College, Guntur. (United Lutheran Church of America, and Church Missionary Society.)	The economic status and self-support of the Church of the four Protestant Missions in the Andhra area of Madras Province and Nizam's State.	J. B. Williams, M.A., Ph.D.
Bankura College, Bengal. (Methodist Missionary Society.)	The Bankura Christian community.	C. F. Ball, B.A.
C.M.S. College, Kottayam, Travancore. (Church Missionary Society.) Union Christian College, Alwaye, Travancore. (Indian.)	The economic environment of the Church: (*a*) The Malankara Syrian Jacobite Church. (*b*) The Mar Thoma Syrian Church. (*c*) The Indian Church in Travancore and Cochin.	P. C. Joseph, M.A., B.L.

College.	*Study.*	*Directed by*
Ewing Christian College, Allahabad. (American Presbyterian Mission.)	The economic background of the Church in the United Provinces.	E. C. Bhatty, M.A.
	Caste *panchayats* and the rural Church.	
	Case studies of certain families living in some villages of the United Provinces.	
Forman Christian College, Lahore. (American Presbyterian Mission.)	Social, economic, educational and religious conditions prevailing amongst certain village Christian communities in the Sialkot District, Punjab.	E. D. Lucas, D.D., Ph.D. F. S. Thakur Das, M.A.
Indore Christian College, Indore. (United Church of Canada.)	The socio-economic conditions of Christian communities in the Central India Agency.	P. R. Langar, M.A.
St John's College, Agra. (Church Missionary Society.)	The economic implications of conversion in the rural Church in the mass movements area near Agra.	N. Timothy, M.A.
St John's College, Palamcottah. (Church Missionary Society.)	Emigration in relation to the life of the Tinnevelly Church.	M. V. Subrahmanyam, M.A., L.T.
St Paul's College, Calcutta. (Church Missionary Society.)	The economic condition of some immigrants to Calcutta from rural areas in Bengal.	Faculty Members.
Scottish Church College, Calcutta. (Church of Scotland.)	The economic conditions of non-Bengali Christian communities with special reference to self-support.	John Kellas, M.A.

College.	Study.	Directed by
Serampore College, Bengal. (English Baptist Missionary Society.)	The economic basis and self-support of certain Baptist rural Churches in Bengal.	Faculty Members.
United Theological College of South India and Ceylon, Bangalore. (Union.)	The Indian Protestant Churches in Bangalore City and Cantonment, with special reference to the economic conditions of the members and self-support of the Churches.	Faculty Members.
United Theological College, Saharanpur. (Mainly American Presbyterian.)	Case studies of thirty-one urban Churches in the United Provinces, attempting or achieving self-support. Case studies of twenty-three Christian rural groups in the Aligarh and Meerut Districts.	W. H. Wiser, Ph.D.
Wilson College, Bombay. (Church of Scotland.)	The social and economic environment of the Indian Christian population in Bombay City and its correlation with the rural Christian community.	J. Kellock, M.A., B.D.

In addition, a study of the economic condition of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon, and the Gossner Lutheran Church in Chota Nagpur was carried out by Mr S. K. Roy, M.A., B.T., of Ranchi.

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